The Early History of Louisiana as Recounted by the Chronicler Andre Penicaut 1699-1704

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF LOUISIANA AS RECOUNTED BY THE CHRONICLER

ANDRE PÉNICAUT

1699 - 1704

by

Elizabeth McCann

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree in

Loyola University

1943
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to examine the narrative of André Pénicaut describing the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi River by sea and the subsequent French establishments in the Louisiana territory.¹

Pénicaut was born at La Rochelle about 1680. A carpenter by trade, he embarked with Iberville² on the latter's first expedition to Louisiana in 1698. In his Avertissement au Lecteur, the annalist

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¹ The complete title of Pénicaut's narrative reads as follows: "Relation ou annales véritables de ce qui s'est passé dans le pays de la Louisiane pendant vingt-deux années consécutives, depuis le commencement de l'establissement des français dans le pays, par M. d'Iberville, et M. le comte de Surgère en 1699 continue jusqu'en 1721, où il est fait mention des guerres des français contre les Sauvages, et des Sauvages entre eux; du commerce des français avec les Sauvages, du course et de l'étendue du Mississipi, des rivières qui tombent dans ce fleuve, des mines, de la religion et des moeurs des sauvages, de leurs vives de leur chasse, de leurs noces, de leurs festes, de leurs obsèques; des concessions qu'y possèdent à présent les français, avec l'histoire galante d'un capitaine français et la fille d'un capitaine de cavalerie espagnole du Mexique." P. Margry, Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et Dans Le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888, (hereinafter quoted as Margry,) IV, 689.

informs the reader that his narrative is a year-by-year account of the events which took place while he was in the colony. Upon examination, however, it becomes evident that Pénicaud was writing from memory or from very scanty notes, for his chronology is quite muddled. Therefore, before accepting his relation as a trustworthy narrative, his statements must be checked with other available contemporary and primary sources. A seemingly straightforward, honest individual, his misstatements and confused sequence of events are obviously unintentional -- apparently the result of a failing memory -- for, in general, the events he relates are true, if put in their correct setting. The comparison of his account with other sources proves that his mistakes are mistakes of confusion and omission, rather than a deliberate attempt to falsify the story.

The time limit of this present study covers only the years from 1698 to 1704, although the complete narrative extends to 1721. The year 1704, however, marks a natural division in the events of the Louisiana colony. Two years previously Mobile had been established, Iberville had made his last visit to the colony; and for all practical purposes, Bienville had assumed the leadership of the struggling settlement on the Gulf coast.

The geographical area included in this study embraces the coast of the Gulf of Mexico from the mouth of the Mississippi River to Mobile Bay and the course of the Mississippi from its mouth to the Arkansas
River. Penicaut's statements concerning locations and distances within this area will be compared with other contemporary accounts. Actually, the travels of the chronicler were more extensive than the geographical limits set for this study, for he accompanied Le Sueur up the Mississippi as far as the present state of Minnesota for the purpose of investigating a potential copper mine. The description of this trip, also found in his narrative, forms no part of this study.

There are three extant copies of the "Annals of Louisiana." The one reproduced in Margry is copied from a manuscript in the Archives at Paris. The second is in the Municipal Library at Rouen. A copy of this Rouen manuscript, made for Gabriel Gravier, is now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. A third copy was purchased by the American Consul General in Paris in 1870 and given to Francis Parkman, as explained in a letter to the historian by the Consul. This Parkman manuscript, together with the explanatory letters, is at present in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A film of the same is now available at Loyola University, Chicago.

Penicaut's handwriting was nothing more than an uneducated childish scrawl, and, moreover, at the time of writing, the author himself was

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3 Penicaut's narrative, Margry, V, 375-586.
4 Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Manuscrit français, 14613.
getting blind, therefore he very likely dictated his relation to a professional copyist. Perhaps his purpose in writing this story was to raise money, and in order to give his work some appeal he gave a prominent place to the romance of St. Denis. A copy of his chronicle was sent to Diron Dartaguiette\(^5\) to whom it was dedicated.\(^6\) Dartaguiette in turn gave this relation to Charlevoix\(^7\) and when the French Jesuits were suppressed in 1763, their library was confiscated by the crown and a catalog of the books was made for purpose of auction. In this catalog is listed the "Relation de la Louisiane, depuis 1699, jusqu'en 1721, par Penicaud."\(^8\)

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\(^5\) There were three Dartaguiettes who served the Louisiana colony during the years 1710 to 1732, cf. Alvord, C. W., The Illinois Country, 1673-1818, Springfield, Illinois, 1920, I, 173, and the cyclopedia, Louisiana edited by Alcée Fortier, 2 vols., Atlanta, 1909, I, 335. These authors list two of the Dartaguiettes as brothers and one as the son of one of the brothers. All three, however, were brothers, and it is Bernard Diron Dartaguiette who came to Louisiana in 1717 to whom Penicaud dedicated his relation.

\(^6\) Margry, V, 698.


\(^8\) Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum Collegii Claromontani, Paris, 1764, p. 314, n. DCCCXXXVIII. An interesting example of the manner in which Jesuit libraries were confiscated, listed, and auctioned is given by William Kane, "The End of a Jesuit Library." Mid-America, XXIII (July, 1941), 190-213.
It is probable, although not definitely ascertained, that it was this copy which was ultimately deposited in the Paris archives.

A collation of the Paris manuscript with the Margry reproduction was made by the Library of Congress and this collation was secured for the purpose of comparison. Hence for all practical purposes, the writer can say that she has had access to the text of the Paris manuscript itself.

In order to have as accurate a text of Penicaut's narrative as possible, a comparison was made of these three manuscripts. The actual manuscript in Rouen could not be consulted. Were it not for the troubled conditions in France at the present time, a few pages of this manuscript could have been photographed and the handwriting identified. The supposition is that it either was made by François Bouet himself or for Bouet by some copyist. If the handwriting were that of Bouet's it would be easily identified by a comparison of his signature on a map made and signed by him which is in the Newberry Library, Ayer Collection. Lacking this Rouen manuscript, it was not possible to determine how faithfully Gravier's copy was made.

9 "Carte de La Louisiane et du cours du Missisipy sur la Relation d'André Pénicaut," by François Bouet, 1721. Although this map purports to be drawn from the information contained in Pénicaut's narrative, it does not follow the relation very closely nor does it show the numerous geographical land marks described by the author. Many of the contemporary maps are much more detailed.
In making the comparison of these manuscripts, the reproduction in Margry was used as the basic text. This was checked, first, against the collation of the Paris manuscript made by the Library of Congress, secondly, against the filmed Parkman copy, and finally, against the Gravier copy in the Newberry Library. Other than differences in capitalization, spelling, and the arrangement of the words within the sentences -- all differences which may be attributed to the idiosyncrasies of the copyists or the editor -- the facts narrated in the three manuscripts are the same, at least as far as the events up to the year 1704 are concerned. The differences and similarities in the spelling of Indian names argue strongly in favor of the priority of the Paris manuscript, and leads to the belief that the Boston manuscript was made on the Rouen copy. It is probably safe to conclude that the relation contained in the Margry, at least up to 1704, is substantially as Pénicaud narrated it.

The renewed interest of the French in Louisiana can be explained partially by the rival activity on the part of the English. More than a decade and a half had elapsed since La Salle's ill-fated attempt to reach the mouth of the Mississippi by sea. During the interim, France had done nothing to explore or colonize the vast territory over which she claimed dominion by right of the explorer's descent of the great river. Continental wars kept the French occupied during this period, but with the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, ending the
War of the League of Augsburg, France was again able to turn her attention to her colonial empire in North America. While negotiating this Peace, Louis XIV emphasized the necessity of holding the Louisiana territory. In fact the determination to colonize Louisiana was made none too soon, for the interest of the English in the region of the Mississippi had been roused by Father Hennepin's New Discovery, published in 1697 and dedicated to the British sovereign, William III. The Recollect's account popularized the fact that Louisiana could be reached by sea by way of the mouth of the Mississippi River, and even while Iberville was making preparations for his voyage, he heard rumors that the English were actively preparing to take advantage of Hennepin's suggestions. By October, 1698, these preparations were completed and three vessels left England to take possession of Hennepin's Louisiana. They sailed to Carolina and remained off the coast of Charleston for the winter of 1698-99, and only proceeded to the Gulf of Mexico in May, 1699.

The information available to Iberville previous to his voyage

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10 Margry, IV, iv-xxxvi, discusses the activities which lead to the colonization of Louisiana and the influences exerted to bring this about. Cf. also, Jean Delanglez, S.J., The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763, Washington, D. C., 1935, 4-6.

Concerning the description and location of the Mississippi River was very meager. In fact, many of the extant accounts bearing on this subject were inaccurate and fanciful. Of these, two of the three relations to which Iberville had access were notoriously unreliable, while the third has nothing in it pertaining to the lower course of the Mississippi. The first was the *Premier Etablissement de Foy dans La Nouvelle France*, published in Paris in 1691, under the name of the Recollect, Chrestien Le Clercq. The section narrating La Salle's descent to the sea in 1682 is "an almost verbatim reproduction" of a previous account known as the official report. The authorship of the latter account has now been unquestionably ascribed to Abbé Claude

There are several extant documents, and at that period were probably additional documents available, which pertained to the Mississippi and which might have given Iberville a little assistance had he been able to have access to them. These are briefly (1) the two procés-verbaux, made by Jacques de la Métairie, notary of Fort Frontenac, during La Salle's descent of the Mississippi in 1682. The second and more important of these notarial documents, dated April 9, 1682, made at the mouth of the river, besides being an official claim to the country explored, contains a brief account of La Salle's trip. (2) Two memoirs of La Salle's trip written by Tonti; the first dated November 14, 1684, sent to the Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot in Paris; the second and longer, sent to Pontchartrain in 1693. Cf. Jean Delanglez, "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," *Mid-America*, XXII, 1940, 4-7.

Ibid., 25. Cf. also, Jean Delanglez, *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 1684-1688, Chicago, 1938, 16-17. Here it is proven that Le Clercq was not the editor of the *First Establishment of the Faith*. 
Bernou, and the unreliableness of the work is suggested by the following observation: "The strangeness of some of the geographical details is what made it necessary to examine the evidence here presented by way of settling the authorship of the report."\(^{15}\)

The second account made available to Iberville was one now designated as the pseudo-Tonti relation, published in 1697\(^{16}\); it was repudiated by Tonti himself and by most historians since. This account is even more fanciful than the former and only served to confuse Iberville the more when he attempted to reconcile the facts related therein with the realities.\(^{17}\) The third account was Joutel's

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14 Some had attributed the official report to La Salle; a few claimed Father Membre to have been the author, ibid., 7. For biographical information concerning Bernou, cf., Jean Delanglez., Some La Salle Journeys, Chicago, 1938, 11; and for proof of his authorship of the official report, cf., id., "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," Mid-America, XXII, 1940, 3-37.

15 Ibid., Mid-America, XXII, 1940, 25.


17 When Iberville was faced with the task of identifying the Mississippi from the descriptions in these works he was baffled and irritated. Grace King remarks; "But a more unreliable, confusing set of guidebooks he could not have had." Later she adds: "But nothing could have been more different from the order of tribes and distances given in the Relation of Father Zénobe Membre, contained in Father Chrétien Le Clerc's 'Etablissement de la Foi,'" his guide. Grace King, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville, New York, 1892, 39 and 58.
relation of La Salle's expedition in 1684. The lowest point on the Mississippi seen by this chronicler was the Arkansas River, and therefore his journal could not have been of much use to Iberville who was searching for the mouth of the Mississippi River from the sea.

Besides these French accounts, Iberville had some Spanish maps of the Gulf region, for in his description of the Gulf coast, we meet with Spanish names which appear on these maps. The Spaniards acquired a rather thorough acquaintance with this region in their efforts to locate the rumored La Salle colony. They feared a French settlement established so close to their own dominions, and sent out from Vera Cruz a number of expeditions during the years 1686 to 1693, to forestall this menacing encroachment. These searching parties found the mouth of the Mississippi, sounded its entrance, but it appeared to them so obstructed by debris that they passed it by with-

18 Delanglez, The Journal of Jean Cavelier, 12; Margry, IV, 72.
19 Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1698, Margry, IV, 89; id to id., February 11, 1699, ibid., 99; log of the Badine, ibid., 149.
out much notice. The geographical data gathered by the Spanish navigators were in general quite accurate and depicted the contour of the coast line rather exactly. Due to the misconceptions current at the time, however, they failed to utilize this knowledge, never realizing that the Mississippi River afforded any commercial advantages. Consequently the information thus acquired was not emphasized nor popularized, although the Spanish maps must have familiarized Iberville

20 Cf. "Partie de l'Amerique Septentrionale depuis 27 jusques à 44 degrez de lat. et depuis 269 degrez de longitude, 1682," Bibliothèque ou Service Hydrographique (SHB) B 4040-4, which shows the general conception of the Gulf of Mexico previous to these Spanish explorations. This map shows one large river coming from Canada and flowing into a commodious bay called Bay de St Esprit. The Spaniards concluded that it was this bay without a doubt where La Salle would found his colony. The Spanish expeditions sent out to ascertain the location of the colony were accordingly looking for a broad bay, and not an obstructed delta. In fact, the first expedition discovered a large river on March 4, 1686, "but it could not be entered on account of the great quantity of trees and drift wood which choked its mouth. It was called the Rio de la Falizada for this reason. A prominent landmark in the vicinity was christened Cabo de Lodo (Mud Cape). Little did the explorers realize that they had discovered the river for which they were seeking, but such was the case. They were now at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Their failure to recognize it as such, however, is not surprising. The great stream was supposed to empty into the excellent harbor of Espiritu Santo Bay; but no bay was to be seen. Thus the Mississippi... was passed by as unworthy of examination." William Edward Dunn, Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702, Austin, Texas, 1917, 38 and 62.

21 Cf. the journal of Siguenza y Gongora and Don Andres de Pez expedition of 1693, kept by the former, Irving A. Leonard, Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693, Albuquerque, 1939, 152-185.
with the landmarks along the Gulf coast.

Thus the exploration which Iberville was about to undertake was to furnish the French with their first accurate geographical account of the Mississippi River and the Louisiana coast.

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22 For instance, Iberville knew that after passing Pensacola Bay, he should soon reach Mobile Bay and even estimated the approximate distance beforehand, and after reaching the bay points out the inaccuracy of the reading given on a Spanish map, log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 149.
CHAPTER I

IBERVILLE'S FIRST VOYAGE

Pénicaud entered the King's service on board the Cheval Marin\(^1\) under the command of Count de Surgères.\(^2\) The Marin, he explained, was a companion ship to the Renommée, captained by Iberville, the commander of the expedition. Thus, the opening statements of his relation indicate from the very outset, the author's vagueness and confusion in reporting details, for actually the vessel captained by Iberville on his first voyage was the Badine,\(^3\) while the Renommée served on the subsequent voyages.

The date and port of the expedition's departure need an explanation. Pénicaud records that they sailed from La Rochelle in

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1 Generally referred to merely as the Marin, but the proper title was the Cheval Marin; it is thus referred to in the entry of August 19, 1699, Pontchartrain to Duguy, in Surrey, N.M., Calendar of Manuscripts in the Paris Archives and Libraries relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803, 2 planograph vols., Washington, D.C., 1926-1928, I, 55.

2 François de La Rochefoucauld, seigneur et marquis de Surgères (1644-1731) was appointed Captain of the frigate Le Cheval Marin by Pontchartrain on June 4, 1698, Margry, IV, 49.

3 Under date of June 4, 1698, the Minister ordered that the Badine should be armed and placed under Iberville's command, Pontchartrain to Begon, June 4, 1698, ibid., 49. For many years Begon was the intendant at Rochefort, Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion, Jackson, Mississippi, 1920, II, 48, n. 1.
October, 1698. The Minister of the Navy and Colonies expected the explorer to be ready to leave in the latter part of July, but delays in preparation held up his departure so long beyond this date that Pontchartrain feared lest a change of wind at this time of the year would prevent his sailing. And, as it so happened, the log of the Marin records that Iberville did encounter unfavorable winds. Setting sail from La Rochelle on September 5, 1698, adverse winds

4 Louis XIV did not have one prime minister like Richelieu or Mazarin, but personally worked at what he called his "business as king" (métier de roi). This was accomplished through four confidential ministers, who were generally men of bourgeois origin, advising on matters of military affairs, foreign affairs, finance, navy and economic life. Charles Seignobos, The Evolution of the French People, New York, 1932, 232-233. In 1699, Jérôme Phelypeaux, Comte de Maurepas, succeeded his father, Louis Phelypeaux, who had been made Chancellor of France, as Minister of the Colonies. He took his father's title of Comte de Pontchartrain, "Tonti Letters," Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 217, n. 11. Of Jérôme Phelypeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain Alvord writes that he was the "Official who was most instrumental in bringing to a favorable decision the issue of the settlement of Louisiana. . . At the time of this earlier discussion of the project he was serving in the marine under his father. . . His is a notable place in the history of North America, for he had insight where others were blind." Clarence Walworth Alvord, The Illinois Country, 1673-1818, Springfield, 1920, I, 126.

5 In his communications after the latter part of July the Minister expresses annoyance at the various causes which were detaining Iberville, cf letters of August 6, 1698, Margry, IV, 76; September 2, 1698, ibid.; and October 16, 1698, ibid., 84.

6 Pontchartrain to Du Guay, October 16, 1698, ibid., 84.
carried the expedition to Brest where it put into port. Accordingly the expedition's ultimate departure was from Brest on October 24, 1698. Both the log of the Marin and Iberville's letters designate Brest as the port of departure as of October 24, 1698. Therefore, if Pénicaut considered La Rochelle as the port of departure, he should have given the date as of September 5, 1698, and not October, as he does.

The crossing was uneventful except for a very minor mishap not mentioned by Pénicaut. Owing to bad weather, Iberville reported to the Minister, one of the two transport boats was separated from the other vessels, arriving at Santo Domingo ten days later than the others with its main mast broken.

The arrival of the expedition at Santo Domingo is entered in

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7 Log of the Marin, ibid., 213. Although the expedition was scheduled to depart from La Rochelle, Pontchartrain to Begon, July 16, 1698, ibid., 70, the vessels were armed and provisioned at different ports: the Badine at Rochefort, and the Marin at Port-Louis, ibid., 49-50-51, but on July 16, 1698, the Minister wrote that he has been informed that the Marin would leave Port-Louis immediately to join the Badine at La Rochelle and by the date of writing had probably arrived at its destination, ibid., 70.

8 Log of the Marin, ibid., 213. Margry does not publish any reference to statements made by Iberville concerning this false start, but he does publish a letter in which the explorer states: "Since my departure from Brest, which was the 24th of October, etc." Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1698, ibid., 87.

9 Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1698, ibid., 87
Pénicaud's narrative in a very general manner, giving neither the
date of landing nor the first port of call. Iberville docked at Cap
François, today Cap Haitien, Santo Domingo, on December 4, 1698, and
although changing ports, he stayed on the island for the remainder
of the month, sailing for the Louisiana coast on December 31. In
the "Annals of Louisiana" this date is given as the Feast of St.
Thomas, thus shortening the expedition's stay at Santo Domingo
from twenty-seven to eleven days.

Iberville's activities after landing at Cap François, which is
on the northeastern coast of the island, undoubtedly confused
Pénicaud, for his movements do appear rather complicated, and after
a lapse of years, the author could not recall accurately the

10 Pénicaud's Narrative, ibid., V, 375.

11 Iberville to Pontchartrain, June 29, 1699, ibid., IV, 116;
id. to id., February 11, 1699, ibid., 95; Chasteaumorant to
Pontchartrain, June 23, 1699, ibid., 105; log of the Badine,
ibid., 131; log of the Marin, ibid., 217.

12 There are two feasts of St. Thomas in December: the first, of
St. Thomas the Apostle, on December 21; and the second, of St.
Thomas a Becket, on December 29. In France at this time the
feasts of the Apostles were holydays of obligation, and for
this reason Pénicaud would more easily remember the feast on
the 21st. Shea, 118, n. 5, correcting Charlevoix says that
Pénicaud, writing from memory gives the date of departure from
Santo Domingo as December 29, although he has no more evidence
for giving the date as the 29th than the 21st. P. F. X. de
Charlevoix, S. J., History and General Description of New France.
Translated with notes by John Gilmary Shea, 6 vols., New York,
1871, V, 118.
sequence of events. What actually took place is briefly as follows. Wishing to confer with Ducasse, the governor, who was at that time ill and unable to travel, Iberville ordered the Marin, on which Penicaud sailed, to go to Port-de-Paix, also on the northern coast, a little west of Cap François, where the governor embarked. After a five day stop at the latter port, the Marin then sailed for Leogane which is a port on the southern end of the island, not far from Port-au-Prince. Here, on December 25, the Badine joined its companion, having left Cap François on the twenty-first. It is perhaps this changing from one port to another which left the annalist somewhat bewildered concerning the activities at Santo Domingo for he includes none of these details in his narrative.

Another important detail omitted by Penicaud was Iberville's acquisition of the famous filibuster, Laurent de Graff, who embarked at Leogane on the François, a war ship commanded by Chasteaumorant who was to convoy the expedition through the Gulf for fear of an attack from the English. It was undoubtedly the services rendered by this pilot which enabled Iberville to take such an accurate and sure course, preventing a repetition of La Salle's dismal failure a decade earlier.

13 Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1698, Margry, IV, 86; log of the Marin, ibid., 216-217.
Chasteaumorant, in his report to the Minister, explained that De Graff, a captain of a light frigate, was a very good sailor who knew all the rocks and all the ports in the Gulf, having sailed these waters all his life. While the pilot did not possess definite information concerning the Mississippi, he had a knowledge of the Gulf Coast which proved invaluable to the explorer.14

Taking his cue from De Graff, Iberville, after rounding Cabo San Antonio, the most westerly point of Cuba,15 steered a northerly

14 Of De Graff, Chasteaumorant writes: "M. de Graff, capitaine de frégate légère estoit embarqué avec moy; it m'a esté d'un très grand secours; outre que c'est un parfaitement bon matelot, il connoist toutes les roches et tous les ports de ce pays là, jusques à l'entrée de Mexique, y ayant toute sa vue fait la course." In addition to the information supplied by De Graff, Chasteaumorant reports the following conversation with a Spanish pilot: "J'ay demandé à ce pilote Espagnol s'il n'avoit point connaissance de cetter rivière. Il me dit que non, mais qu'il avoit ouy parler d'une rivière, que l'on appelloit la rivière de Canada, qui estoit par delà les isles de Saint-Diègue (Chandeleur Island), mais qu'a l'embouchure il n'y avoit pas d'eau. Les avalaisons y avoient entraïné une si grande quantité d'arbres que cela y avoit fait une espèce de barre, sur laquelle il ne croyoit pas qu'il y eust plus d'une brasse d'eau, et d'ailleurs les courants terribles." Chasteaumorant to Pontchartrain, June, 1699, Margry, IV, 103-104.

15 On January 15, Iberville began to calculate his longitude from Cabo San Antonio, log of the Badine, ibid., 138. This point is 84° 55' west of Greenwich.
course. Sighting land on January 24, \(^{16}\) he sailed west carefully exploring every indentation as he went.

Pénicaud omits all mention of Iberville's exploration of the coast, and in this connection his narrative lacks so many important details that his account of this voyage is rendered practically worthless. \(^{17}\) In the "Annals of Louisiana" the expedition sailed

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16 Log of the Badine, ibid., 141. The point where he sighted land Iberville referred to as Cap Blanc (or Cap du Sable). His reading on January 24 was 30° north and 2° 18' west of Cabo San Antonio, which would place Cap Blanc about 87° 13' west of Greenwich. Judging from the scale on Delisle's map of 1702, "Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres en Amérique avec les Isles Adjacentes," Archives Nationales (AN), JJ-253, it is located approximately fifteen leagues east of Pensacola Bay.

17 The most important omissions concern the description of Pensacola and Mobile Bays and the discovery and naming of Massacre Island (Dauphin Island). On January 27 and 28 Iberville attempted to sound Pensacola Bay, despite the orders of the Spaniards, who had come from Vera Cruz only three months previously, prohibiting the French to enter. Iberville to Pontchartrain, June 29, 1699, Margry, IV, 117; log of the Badine, ibid., 142; log of the Marin, ibid., 228-229. On January 31, Iberville anchored off Mobile Bay where he remained until February 5, exploring and sounding. Pénicaud's first mention of Mobile Bay is in 1701 when the French went there to establish a fort. While engaged in his explorations off Mobile Bay, Iberville discovered and named Massacre Island (February 2, 1699), although Pénicaud attributes both its discovery and original name to Bienville who made explorations along the coast during the interval between Iberville's first and second voyages. Actually Iberville stumbled upon the island attempting to seek shelter from a violent storm which overtook him while sounding the entrance to Mobile Bay. Shea suggests as the reason for Pénicaud's omission that the author might not have been with Iberville when the island was first discovered, Shea's Charlevoix, 120.
directly to the Louisiana coast anchoring in the roadstead between Cat and Ship Islands on January 6, whereas, actually this anchorage was not discovered until February 9, 1699. Ship Island, the annalist recounts, was originally named Isle de Surgères because the Count de Surgères was the first to perceive it, although neither the logs of the Badine nor the Marin so designate these islands. Iberville refers to them as Isle ou Mouillage (Anchorage Islands) or merely as the roadstead. Cat Island, which carries that same name today, is a little to the west of Ship Island, and was named because of the many raccoons found there.

Due to the omission of Iberville’s coastal exploration, Pélicaut’s narrative does not include many important geographical descriptions, which were of decided interest, since Iberville’s was the first official French exploration of the Gulf region. The explorer’s observations concerning the location and topography of Pensacola and Mobile Bays, for instance, were of utmost importance to the French during the next few years: Pensacola, because of the attempt to secure that territory from the Spaniards; and Mobile, because it was to be the future site of the French colony on the

18 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 152.

19 Hamilton refers to Ship Island as Isle Francaise, P. J. Hamilton, Colonial Mobile, New York, 1898, 46, but Gravier as early as 1700 refers to the same island by its present-day name, unless, of course, the translator employed the name by which the island is now known instead of following the original nomenclature, John Gilmary Shea, Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, Albany, 1861, 154. Concerning the changing of the names of these island, cf. Chapter III, below, n. 28.
Iberville discovered the mouth of the Mississippi River on March 21, although Penicaut attributes the discovery of the river to Bienville and a party of explorers who went to the Mississippi by way of Lake Pontchartrain during the interval between the first and second voyages. But in the chronicler's account the fact that Iberville's prime purpose was to locate the mouth of the river by sea is ignored, and, although La Salle had previously descended the river to its mouth from the north, the French had not, prior to Iberville's discovery, located its mouth by the sea approach, and this was precisely the explorer's task.  

21 He ascended the river first to the village of the Bayogoula Indians, and not satisfied that he had definite proof that he was actually exploring the Mississippi, he continued as high as the Huma village. At this point, fearing that his supplies were becoming exhausted, he retraced his steps until he reached the entrance to a river a little above the Bayogoula village on the east bank of the Mississippi, to which he gave his name. Descending this river with a small party of men -- the remainder were sent to the roadstead by way of the river's mouth -- and after making numerous protages, he came to Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. Passing through these lakes, he reached the Gulf and returned to his vessel on March 31.

22 It was a rather difficult task to find the mouth of the river by sea, for its appearance was not as imposing as at first expected. The Spaniards, as a matter of fact, found the mouth of the river so unimposing, that they could not believe it was the famous river about which three nations were vying for possession, and they did not even try to enter because "of the great quantity of trees and driftwood which choked its mouth." Dunn, 62. Iberville calculated the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi to be 28° 50', log of the Badine, Marqy, IV, 160. Today the mouth of the river is approximately on the twenty-ninth degree latitude. He described its entrance as cluttered with petrified wood, rocks, and the current loaded with floating trees; the water was sweet, ibid., 162.
Therefore Pénicaut's narrative of Iberville's first voyage misses a very important historical point -- a point which explains the nature of the expedition and furnishes the link between the prior unsuccessful attempt and the present undertaking.

It was not then until after the exploration of the river and the establishment of its identity, that any steps were taken toward the building of a fort. Before making his selection, Iberville sounded the entrance of the Pascagoula River, but did not find it suitable. The possibility of building a fort along the shores of Lake Pontchartrain was likewise found unsuitable, and finally on April 6, and not early in January as Pénicaut asserts, Iberville determined to erect the fort on an elevation on the northeast bank of Biloxi Bay, at the site of present-day Ocean Springs. The annalist gives the distance from Ship Island to the fort as five leagues, the same distance estimated by Iberville, and the dimensions of the bay as one league wide and five leagues deep. At the entrance to the bay he describes an island one league long, an eighth of a league wide and about a fourth

23 Log of the Badine, ibid., 192. Iberville estimated the distance from the fort to the vessels as approximately the same as from the fort to Ship Island. In his memoir he reduced this distance to four leagues from the north-northeast of the roadstead, ibid., 311.

24 Iberville gives two leagues long, log of the Badine, ibid., 192.
of a league from the mainland, which he calls Isle aux Chevreuils (Deer Island). This island is unnamed in the log of the Badine.

By May 1, the fort was practically completed and Iberville prepared to leave. The officers appointed by the explorer to serve the fort at Biloxi are listed by Pénicaul as Sauvolle, commandant; Boisbriand, major; Bienville, with no specific title; and the Jesuit, Father Paul Du Ru, chaplain. These names thus tabulated serve as an example of the author's confusion concerning the events of the

25 Named on Delisle's map of 1701, "Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres en Amérique avec les Isle Adjacentes," AN, JJ 75-253; and also on Map of the Mississippi and the Mobile Rivers representing the Coast from Pensacola Bay to Lake St. Bernard (Matagorda Bay), Archives Service Hydrographique (ASH), 138bis -1-5. This map has no title, no latitude, no longitude, but contains the ordinary scale of twenty leagues to the degree. It is dated 1700 from a legend near the Yazoo River saying that Iberville came here in 1700. The map was based on an early French map giving the nomenclature of De Soto in the east.

26 Although many authors claim that Sauvolle was Iberville's brother, Delanglez cites references to prove the contrary, cf. The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 7, n. 44.

27 Pierre Dugué, sieur de Boisbriant, a Canadian was a cousin of Iberville's, cf. Alvord, I, 153.

28 Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was born in 1672. He was made garde-marine in 1692. (Gardes-marins were "midshipmen," or young men selected by the King to be trained in the navy, MPA, II, 41, n.1.) He served with his brother on the Hudson Bay expedition, and was just a little over twenty years of age when he sailed from France on the Louisiana expedition. From 1700 to 1733 he was one of the most, if not the most, prominent figure in Louisiana colonial history. In 1733 he was appointed governor of that colony and died in 1765. Cf. Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 49-51, also Heinrich, 288.
first and second voyages, for Boisbriand and Father Du Ru only came to Louisiana on the second expedition. Levasseur-Rouseel occupied the post of major during this first interval and M. Bordenave, the chaplain from the Badine, served in that capacity until the coming of Father Du Ru. Father Anastasius Douay, the Recollect who accompanied Iberville on his first exploration asked to return to France with Iberville.

Iberville set sail for France on May 3, 1699. This date is not given by the annalist. At the newly constructed fort, Iberville left seventy men and six cabin boys with provisions for six months. He promised to return to Louisiana within that period. Pénicaut's chronicle continues with an enumeration of the activities of this force during Iberville's absence.

Their first undertaking, he relates, was an exploration of the coast under the leadership of Bienville, to the east of the fort and then to the west. The purpose of this exploration, he explains, was to discover the Mississippi River, for in the "Annals of Louisiana" this discovery had not yet been made. It is interesting to note also the author's confusion concerning the position of the river indicated

29 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 196. Father Anastasius Douay had accompanied La Salle on his expeditions, but by the end of Iberville's first voyage the Recollect was weary of the mission field and asked to return to France stating that he did not want to leave his convent again.
by the statement that they intended to search for it to the east of Biloxi.

On this eastward exploration, Bienville's party skirted along the coast, reaching Pascagoula Bay, which Pénaucut estimated to be about five leagues from Biloxi as compared with the three leagues given by Iberville. The author explains that the bay was named after an Indian tribe who dwelt along the Pascagoula River about twenty leagues inland. At the mouth of this bay, about a league from its entrance, the chronicler describes a barren and uninhabited island which they called Isle Ronde, which island bears the same name today, but does not appear on the maps as early as 1700. It is more than likely that many of the land marks which Pénaucut describes on this exploration were not named at this early date, but received their identification in the course of the twenty years he remained in the

30 Log of the Badine, ibid., 195. Sauvolle gives the same distance, ibid., 451. However, in his memoir on the Coast of Florida, Iberville gives the distance as four leagues, ibid., 311.

31 Sauvolle gives the distance as sixteen leagues from the mouth of the river and lists the three tribes dwelling there as the Pascagoula, Biloxi and Moctobi. Sauvolle's letter, Margry, IV, 451.

32 This island is named on one of D'Anville's tracings: "Carte de la Coste de Nouveau Biloxi avec les Isles des Environs pour faire voire situa'on de la Rade de L'isle aux Vaisseaux, et celle de l'isle de la Chandeleur," BN, Ge DD 2987-8817, and although this map is undated it was certainly drawn from information only available after 1704.
colony. This is undoubtedly the case with reference to Rivière'aux poisons, which does not seem to be located on any of the early maps, although Penicaut places it a league to the east of Pascagoula Bay; likewise "Erban" (D'Herbanne) River which he locates four leagues further east, or about ten leagues from the fort and which he claimed received its name from a Frenchman who was lost there.

Three leagues beyond, the party encountered a point which they named Pointe aux Huistres (Oyster Point) because of the many oysters found there. Hamilton identifies this as present-day Cedar Point which is the western point of the entrance to Mobile Bay.

Opposite this point and about a league off shore, Bienville's party sighted Massacre Island. Upon landing they found, as Penicaut expresses it, a prodigious number of human bones. On his first voyage Iberville discovered this island and noted about sixty human skulls heaped there, from which fact it derived its name. At first this assemblage of human remains horri-

33 Hamilton, 50, identifies this river with present-day Bayou La Battre. Sieur d'Herbanne was the keeper of the Warehouse on Dauphine Island. In MFA, II, 144, Mémoire of Duclos to Pontchartrain, October 12, 1713, the following details are inserted in a marginal note: "For three years d'Herbanne has been taking care of the King's goods that remain in the warehouse on Dauphine Island. Is a man reliable, faithful and necessary for the trade in the things that we need among the Indians." From these remarks it would seem that the man who according to Pénicaux gave this river its name in 1699 only came to the colony about 1710.

34 Hamilton, 50.

35 In his description of Massacre Island, or Dauphin Island, as it is called today, Pénicaux overlooks the fact that it was originally discovered and named by Iberville on his first voyage.
fied the French, but as the "Annals of Louisiana" explains, they later learned that it was the custom of the Indians to gather in one place all the bones of their dead. Massacre Island, the writer claims, was the grave yard of the Novila nation of whom only a few remained in 1699, and although this may be the explanation, none of the other writers of the period substantiate it.

Pénicaud describes the island as seven leagues in circumference and only one league from the mainland, while Iberville gives the dimensions as about four leagues in circumference, but estimates that the island is three and a half leagues from the mainland.

The chronicler's enumeration of the land marks noticed along the coast east of Biloxi omits all reference to Mobile Bay. Thus, according to the sequence of events, this is his second failure to refer to the bay: the first being Iberville's discovery of the bay on his first voyage while searching for the mouth of the Mississippi River; the second being with reference to this present expedition, for Sauvolelle asserts that on June 9, 1699, he sent a group to reconnoiter Mobile Bay. In all probability this was the same group which, as

36 Nicholas La Salle gives five leagues long and two leagues from the mainland, Nicholas La Salle to Pontchartrain, April 1, 1702, Margry, IV, 533.

37 Log of the Badine, ibid., 146-147.

38 Sauvalle's letter, May 1, 1700, ibid., 451.
Pénicaud relates, explored the coast as far as Massacre Island. The time element agrees in both cases; therefore there is no excuse for this omission except a lapse of memory. An exploring party which approached as close as Cedar Point and Dauphin Island would certainly have noticed a bay as large as Mobile.

Not finding the Mississippi River to the east of Biloxi, the "Annals of Louisiana" resumes, the party rounded Massacre Island on their return to the fort. About a half-league from the island they came upon another, which, Pénicaud says, they called Isle à la Corne (Horn Island) because one of the Frenchmen lost his horn of powder there. On the present-day maps Horn Island is separated from Dauphin Island by Petit Bois Island although this last-named island does not appear on any of the contemporary maps. 39

Upon their return to the fort, the party rested for two weeks before setting out in search of the Mississippi River to the west of

39 It is a curious fact that on the contemporary maps, Horn Island is placed adjacent to Dauphin Island. Hamilton, 46, identifies Horn Island as Isle aux Aigles, while Grace King, 22, claims that this island is marked Isle à Bienville on the early maps, but from the fact that a sailor lost his horn there in a later expedition the name was changed to Horn Island. On "Carte de La Coste et des Environs du Fleuve de Mississippi," SHB, C 4040-2, where Isle du Mouillage and Isle de Massacre are indicated, Horn Island is not shown. Neither does it appear on "Cours du Mississippi, depuis les sources du Mississippi aux environs de 48° presqu'à son embouchure," SHB, C 4040-27. It does, however, appear on "Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et pays circonvoisins, 1716," by F. La Maire, SHB, C 4044-46A; and also on Delisle's "Embouchure du Mississippi," AN, JJ 75-244. Pénicaud is here using knowledge acquired at a later date.
Eight leagues from Biloxi, they found a bay, one-fourth of a league in circumference and half a league wide. This they named Bay St. Louis because they arrived there on August 25, the feast of St. Louis.

In point of time, Penicaut's account of this expedition agrees with Sauvolle's report in which he states that on August 22 he organized a crew to sound Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, and on August 23, his report continues, Bienville with a party of six men and two canoes went to make the portage from these lakes to the Mississippi with orders to descend that river to its mouth. In all likelihood this is the same expedition to which Penicaut refers.

The course which Sauvolle instructed Bienville to follow was the course taken by Iberville on his descent of the Mississippi the preceding March, and in his report the commandant speaks of these landmarks with a familiarity that indicates a prior knowledge of them, while Penicaut, on the other hand, describes them as newly discovered.

For instance, his description of the pass, five leagues beyond Bay St. Louis, formed by two islands, the first which he calls Pass aux Hérons and the second Isle aux Pois, substantially agrees with Iberville's statements concerning the channel through which Lake

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40 Sauvolle's letter, May 1, 1700, Margry, IV, 455.
Pontchartrain empties into Lake Borgne, although in the log of the Badine, these islands are unnamed.\textsuperscript{41}

With reference to the naming of Lake Pontchartrain, Pénicaud asserts that it was so-called by Bienville, but, as in the case of Massacre Island, these names did not originate with the latter, who, in addition to being the explorer's brother, was an officer on these expeditions, and knew the names which Ibenville had previously given these land marks and thereafter referred to them by this nomenclature -- a distinction Pénicaud does not make.\textsuperscript{42}

The two banks of the channel at the entrance to Lake Pontchartrain, the annalist continues, were heaped with shells, whence it derived the name \textit{La Pointe aux Coquilles}. On the west bank about a league and a half from the entrance, at a spot called \textit{La Pointe aux Herbes}, Bienville beached the transport boats, and the party continued their journey in canoes. Six leagues beyond, Pénicaud observed, they noticed a small river, which he says the Indians called \textit{Choupicatcha}, but which the French named New Orleans River because

\textsuperscript{41} They are likewise unnamed on the contemporary as well as the modern maps. Iberville describes the channel as one-eighth of a league wide and three leagues long, stating that it flows between two islands, \textit{Log of the Badine}, Margry, IV, 188; \textit{Memoir on the Coast of Florida}, \textit{ibid.}, 311.

\textsuperscript{42} For the naming of Lake Pontchartrain, cf. \textit{log of the Badine}, \textit{ibid.}, 188; also \textit{Memoir on the Coast of Florida}, \textit{ibid.}, 311.
along its bank was to be built the future city of New Orleans. Here, as in many other instances, Pénicaut is referring to future events, for obviously the French did not name this Orleans River as early as the summer of 1699.

Five leagues beyond Orleans River, his description continues, the party came to a Bayouque, present-day Bayou St. John. At this bayou their Indian guides gave them to understand that they were not far from the Mississippi River, but it would be necessary to portage their way to its bank. For three-fourths of a league they crossed through a cypress wood and for a fourth of a league they made their way through reed-cane. They arrived at the bank of the Mississippi River, Pénicaut states, about forty leagues above its mouth. Again the annalist betrays either a future or prior knowledge. If this is, as he maintains, the first visit of the French to the Mississippi River, how could he estimate the distance of Bayou St. John from the mouth of the Mississippi, for according to his narrative, the mouth of the Mississippi was still undiscovered.

After spending one night on the banks of the River, the chronicler asserts, Bienville and his party returned to their canoes. They continued their route around Lake Pontchartrain in order to explore its eastern shore. Five leagues from the portage they passed

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43 As will be indicated in Chapter II, Bienville spent some time on the Mississippi River and it was during this period that he encountered an English vessel advancing up the river. This incident will be discussed later.
a bayou which links Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. This, he remarks, is another route to the Mississippi. Actually it was the return route taken by Iberville upon his descent of the Mississippi the previous March.

Since Bienville's party did not enter Lake Maurepas, the measurements of the lake given by Pénicaut must have been acquired by him at a subsequent date. According to the annalist's figures, the lake is ten leagues around and two leagues across, while Iberville says that the lake is four leagues wide and six leagues long, or approximately nineteen leagues in circumference. In referring to this lake, Pénicaut does not say by whom it was named; and Iberville, on his first voyage did not identify it by name, although Sauvolle asserts that Iberville himself named it Lake Maurepas.

Shortly after the completion of this exploration, Bienville was appointed to head another, this time to the Pascagoula village. His party consisted of ten Frenchmen, Pénicaut among them. According to the latter's statement, the expedition took place toward the end of

44 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 187.

45 Sauvolle's letter, ibid., 455. In his narrative, Pénicaut describes in some detail the land-marks noticed on the eastern shore of Lake Pontchartrain. The places he points out are insignificant and cannot be found on the maps of that period. As a consequence, it is impossible to determine their present day equivalents.
August, but he was obviously confused, for he had said previously that he was at Bay St. Louis on his way to the Mississippi River on August 24. Apparently Pénicaut's recollection of these events was so confused that even in his own narrative he is unable to keep the chronology distinct. In his report, Sauvolle states that the Pascagoula expedition took place during the latter part of June. 46

With the return of this party to the fort at Biloxi, Pénicaut concludes his account of the events which occurred during the interval between Iberville's first and second voyages.

46 Ibid., 451.
CHAPTER II

IBERVILLE'S SECOND VOYAGE

The return of Iberville early in 1700 brought new energy to the struggling garrison at Biloxi. According to the "Annals of Louisiana" the captain of the Renommée cast anchor in the roadstead on January 5, 1700 (la veille des Rois) accompanied by Surgères who commanded the Gironde. Actually, he landed at Ship Island on January 8. Perhaps Pénicaut was not relying entirely upon his memory when narrating this event, but upon hasty jottings which he claimed to have made throughout his stay in the colony, for his dating of Iberville's second voyage is more accurate than that of the first journey.

However, in recounting the commander's activities after anchoring, his statements again become confused. In order to follow the sequence of events and to prevent confusion by the mass of the following details, a brief résumé of the voyage is here given, first according to Iberville's journal, and then as recounted by Penicaut.

Upon his arrival on January 8, Iberville remained on board where he received a report of the important happenings during his absence.

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1 Iberville to Pontchartrain, February 26, 1700. Margry, IV, 361. cf. log of the Renommée, ibid., 395. For the names of the vessels under Iberville and for a list of the commanding officers on the second voyage, cf. ibid., 326, 333, and 335.

2 Iberville to Pontchartrain, February 26, 1700, ibid., 361.
He then proceeded to Fort Maurepas, whence he made several exploratory trips in the vicinity, the most important being his expedition to Lake Pontchartrain. On January 19, at present-day Bayou St John, he dispatched his brother to the Bayogoula village with instructions to enlist the aid of the Indian chief in selecting a site for a fort near the mouth of the Mississippi River. He himself returned to his vessel, picked a crew and set out for the mouth of the river by sea, on February 1, 1700. He met Bienville eighteen leagues up the river; he approved the site which the latter had selected, and immediately set about the building of the fort. When the construction was well under way, he took a portion of his men with him to explore the course of the river as high as the Taensa village where he organized Bienville's overland trip along the Red River and then returned to Biloxi, sailing for France on May 28, 1700.

Simultaneously, Le Sueur was undertaking a journey to the Sioux country. He had come to Biloxi with Iberville on his second voyage with permission to exploit a copper mine in Minnesota. Pénicaut was a member of this northern expedition although in his chronicle he narrates Iberville's trip as occurring first and Le Sueur's as taking

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3 Pierre Charles le Sueur (b. 1657), a Canadian fur trader, received a mining concession in the upper Mississippi valley in 1698, which was revoked a year later. He returned to France, had his license renewed and joined Iberville's expedition the following year. Alvord, I, 114 and 129.
place after the completion of the explorer's second voyage. Likewise the routes followed by the two expeditions are different, though this distinction is not mentioned by Pénicaut. Le Sueur went to the Mississippi River by way of Lake Pontchartrain and the portage through Bayou St. John, while Iberville sailed up the river from its mouth.

In Pénicaut's relation the sequence of events of Iberville's second voyage is as follows: Four days after anchoring in the roadstead, (i. e., on January 9,) the leader set out directly for the mouth of the Mississippi River, and no mention is made of the journey to Lake Pontchartrain. While ascending the river, he says, Iberville noted a suitable site for a fort which he planned to have constructed after his descent of the Mississippi. Upon reaching the Natchez village he ordered Bienville to return to the roadstead to secure the necessary equipment for the erection of the proposed fort, and it was while Bienville was descending the river that he encountered an English vessel which had advanced twenty-six leagues up the Mississippi. This meeting was actually one of the important events which occurred in the interval between Iberville's first and second voyages, a report of which he received on board ship, as mentioned above.

Iberville went as high as the Taensa village and then, Pénicaut states, returned to the site he had selected for a fort where Bienville was awaiting him with the building supplies. After the
fort was completed he returned to Biloxi and, leaving his instructions, sailed for France in April, 1700. As is apparent, there are serious discrepancies between the two accounts and it is the purpose of this chapter to point these out.

The first important inconsistency concerns Bienville's meeting with the English. Iberville received a report of this incident on the day after his arrival, and gives the account a considerable significance in the log of the Renommée - January 9, 1700. Bienville came upon a small English frigate commanded by Captain Louis Bank on September 15, 1699, while on an expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi River by way of Lake Pontchartrain. To Iberville, this information was the most significant item of Sauvolle's account of the activities which occurred during his absence. The bend in the river, twenty-five leagues from its mouth, where the little French detachment met the English man-of-war was named Détour des Anglais.

4 This name is spelled differently in the various accounts: De La Harpe gives Captain Barr, French, part iii, 16; in "Tonti Letters", Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 215, n. 1 and 2, it is given as Bond; and Heinrich, xxxii, n. 7, using Daniel Coxe (Preface B 1-2) as his authority gives the name as Captain Bank.

5 Margry, IV, 361. Cf., Journal of Sauvolle, ibid., 456. Bienville met the English during the Lake Pontchartrain expedition on which Sauvolle had dispatched him, August 23, 1699, ibid., 456. For an enumeration of the different dates given by the contemporary writers for this event, cf., Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 6, n. 43.
or Détour aux Anglais or English Turn, the name it bears today. The meaning is "about face" signifying Bienville's successful strategy in more or less threatening to force the English to leave the river, although his resources were inferior to those of the English.

Pénicaut, as noted above, places this encounter during Iberville's second voyage while the latter was exploring the course of the Mississippi River. He makes Iberville go up the Mississippi as far as the Natchez village, and from this place sends his brother to Biloxi to secure the necessary materials for the erection of a fort on the river. It was on this return trip, he further tells us, that Bienville met the English vessel twenty-six leagues from the sea.

6. English Turn is about eighteen miles below New Orleans or about 100 miles from the Gulf, Delanglez, op. cit. 6; cf. "Tonti Letters," Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 215, n. 1. It is located on Delisle's map, "Carte des environs du Mississippi Donné par M. D'Iberville en 1701," Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (BSH), C 4040-4. This map was engraved but not published. It is also found on another of Delisle's sketches, "Embouchure du Mississippi," Archives Nationales (AN), JJ: 74-244. Likewise on "Carte du Mississipy a La Coste de La Floride avec Ses Environs" ASH, 138 bis - 1 - 3, De Fer, (1702 ?). It is not, however, located on [A map of the Mississippi and the Mobile Rivers representing the coast from Pensacola Bay to Lake St. Bernard (Matagorda Bay).], ASH, 138 bis - 1-5. This map has no title, no latitude, no longitude, but the ordinary scale of 20 leagues to the degree. It was probably culled from Iberville's first voyage for a legend on the map is dated 1700. Neither is it located on François Bouet's map, "Carte de La Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipy sur la Relation d'André Pénicaut."
This English intrusion into French territory partly determined Iberville to take steps to fortify the mouth of the river against further incursions. Before undertaking this task, however, he spent some time sounding the coast in the vicinity of Biloxi Bay and the channel southwest of Cat Island. On January 15, 1700, he departed for Lake Pontchartrain to make a similar exploration. In his relation, Penicaucat does not mention this trip to Lake Pontchartrain, but he does describe the lake and the approaches to the Mississippi when recounting Bienville's expedition to Lake Pontchartrain of the preceding August.

In addition to the descriptions in the Log of the Renommée and in the "Annals of Louisiana," the topography of Lake Pontchartrain is described in the contemporary journal kept by Le Sueur. Another journal written by Father Paul Du Ru, the Jesuit missionary who came to Louisiana on Iberville's second voyage, covering the period from

7 Margry, IV, 363.
8 Journal of Sauvolle, ibid., 456.
9 On Father Du Ru, cf. Rochemonteix, C. de, Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle, 3 vols., Paris, 1895-96, III, 574-75. Cf. also, Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 9ff. Iberville was instructed to take a Jesuit Chaplain with him on his second voyage and to bring back to France M. Bordenave, whom he had left at Biloxi on his first voyage, Margry, IV, 353.
February 1 to May 8, 1700, furnishes an important documentary means of comparison in this present study. Du Ru's extant account, unfortunately, does not include the earlier excursions made by the explorer before setting out for the Mississippi, but in one of his later entries, he infers that he accompanied Iberville on the Lake Pontchartrain trip, though he does not include any of the particulars of that trip. 10

As stated above, Le Sueur had been granted a concession to investigate and exploit a copper mine in the present State of Minnesota. Penicaut was appointed a member of his detachment since carpenters were indispensable on expeditions for the building of boats and fortified houses. Therefore, over and above the log of the Renommée and Iberville's letters, Le Sueur's journal may be used to test Penicaut's chronicle. Indeed, Iberville's and Le Sueur's are two distinct expeditions, although made almost simultaneously, and by means of comparison it will become very evident that Penicaut has seriously disarranged these separate journeys. In the first chapter it was shown that a vital omission on the annalist's part rendered his account of Iberville's first voyage almost worthless; and in this chapter it will become clear that his supposedly "eye-

witness "narrative of Iberville's second trip is an impossibility since he was with Le Sueur's expedition at the time.

Le Sueur's letter was written at the Natchez village on April 4, 1700. It details his day-by-day activities since anchoring in the roadstead off Biloxi Bay on January 8 and provides further data to show how confused Pénicaut was when he wrote his "Annals of Louisiana."

There are then four contemporaneous narratives describing the portage from Lake Pontchartrain to the Mississippi River.

Both Pénicaut's relation and Iberville's journal describe Lake Pontchartrain in detail and both agree in some geographical particulars; but the descriptions do not refer to the same expedition. That of Pénicaut is concerned with Bienville's excursion through Lake Pontchartrain and the portage to the Mississippi in August, 1699, as recounted in the preceding chapter. Some of his statements, however, are here repeated for the sake of comparing them with those of Iberville's; and, although Pénicaut's account of Bienville's expedition is correct as regards the time, he errs by not including at this point a reference to Iberville's trip to the lake.

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11 "Extrait d'une Lettre du Sieur Lesueur qui est allé faire un establissement sur des mines du cuivre a 5 a 600 lieues dans le Mississipi. Aux Natchex sur le Mississipi le 4 Avril 1700," Bibliotheque Nationale, Manuscript francais, nouvelles acquisitions, (BN, Mss. fr. n.a.) 21395: 5-11v.
The latter's journal states that he came by night-fall of January 16, 1700 to the entrance of the lake, which he estimated was about eleven leagues west of the roadstead;\textsuperscript{12} the lake itself from east to west he estimated to be about eleven leagues, and about four or five leagues wide. Pénicaud's measurements are slightly different, giving the dimensions as twenty leagues in circumference and seven, wide.\textsuperscript{13}

On January 17, Iberville reached the river -- the "bayouque" mentioned by Pénicaud -- which lead to the portage. All the accounts agree that this portage was a laborious route through bog, cane and thick woods "where there is water to one's waist and mud to one's knees."\textsuperscript{14} On the early maps it derived its name from an incident which occurred while Le Sueur was attempting to transport his belongings across. While engaged in this arduous task two of his men were lost for several weeks and due to this fact it was named Le Portage.

\textsuperscript{12} Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 364. Le Sueur's day by day estimate of the distance travelled from the roadstead to Lake Pontchartrain totals about fifteen or sixteen leagues, Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss, fr., n.a., 21395; 7.

\textsuperscript{13} The French text read "vingt lieues de tour et sept de large," Margry, V, 364. The Parkman manuscript has 28 leagues wide.

\textsuperscript{14} Journal of Paul Du Ru, 16.
des Esgarez (The Portage of Lost Men). This is present-day Bayou St. John located near New Orleans. The four accounts place the Bayou forty leagues from the mouth of the Mississippi.\textsuperscript{16} Iberville's was undoubtedly an independent estimate; while both Du Ru and Pénicaud were perhaps repeating the figure mentioned by the commander. This may also be true of Le Sueur, since he did not travel from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Bayou, but approached it by way of Lake Pontchartrain.

In order to understand the ensuing sequence of events, it is necessary here to have recourse to details given by Iberville, but not mentioned by Pénicaud. The explorer himself did not go to the Mississippi River, but sent his brother to the Bayagoula village on January 19, to inform the Indians of his return. Bienville was instructed to secure their aid in the selection of a suitable site, not subject to floods, for a fort near the mouth of the river. Iberville returned to his vessels where he arrived on January 23, 1700. Bienville, in the meantime, sent eight men to the roadstead to inform his brother that he would descend the Mississippi River with

\textsuperscript{15} It is so marked on Delisle's map of 1702. However, on most of the early maps it is simply referred to as the "portage." Cf. "Embouchure de la Mobile," AN, JJ 75-239; "Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres en Amérique avec les Isle Adjacentes," AN, JJ 75-253; "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ 74-244.

\textsuperscript{16} Pénicaud's Narrative, Margry, V, 385; log of the Renommée, ibid., IV, 399; Le Sueur's letter, EN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395: 7; Journal of Paul Du Ru, 16.
the Indian chief as guide to choose the site.\textsuperscript{17}

The Mississippi expedition which, Pénicaut says, set out shortly after Iberville's arrival early in January, actually left on February 1, 1700.\textsuperscript{18} While the annalist gives the correct number of men who took part in the expedition, sixty, his enumeration of the officers is not so accurate. He lists Iberville's two brothers: Bienville and Chateauguay;\textsuperscript{19} St. Denis;\textsuperscript{20} and two Boisbriands, also brothers, whereas there is only one Broisbriand known as being present on the second voyage. Although these men held commissions of one kind

\textsuperscript{17} Margry, IV, 399.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 363. Also Journal of Paul Du Ru, I.

\textsuperscript{19} Antoine Le Moyne de Chateauguay, born in 1683, accompanied Iberville on his second voyage. He occupied an important place in the French colonial history, and for many years he was Bienville's right hand man. In 1703 he was placed at the head of the two companies composing the garrison at Mobile. He was appointed second lieutenant of the king in the colony in 1718 and in 1727 he went to Martinique. Ten years later he was sent to Guiana and was made governor of Isle Royale. He died in 1747. Cf., Heinrich, 288.

\textsuperscript{20} Louis Juchereau de Saint Denis, born in 1676, likewise accompanied Iberville on his second voyage to Louisiana and assumed the governorship of Fort Mississippi upon Bienville's assumption of that post at Biloxi. He made many explorations west of the Mississippi, and his romance with the daughter of a Spanish governor is given considerable space in the later part of Pénicaut's narrative.
or another, Iberville does not explicitly name them as officers of the expedition, stating merely that he left to make an establishment on the Mississippi carrying with him provisions for an inland trip to the Haisni.

The details of the voyage from the roadstead to the mouth of the Mississippi River, as recounted in the "Annals of Louisiana," show conclusively Pénicaut's confusion, for he obviously does not relate the events as they occurred on the second voyage. In Iberville's journal this section of the trip is very summarily treated, merely mentioning that the explorer followed the coast, sailing among the islands about three-quarters of a league from shore, reaching the mouth of the river on February 3. In Pénicaut's account this journey occupied four days, which is the time it took Iberville to make the same journey on his first visit to the Mississippi.

Pénicaut gives the distance travelled each day and tells where they camped each night, while from Du Ru's journal it is quite evident that on the second voyage the expedition did not land or camp.

21 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 399.
23 On February 1, Du Ru writes: "It seems as though we might sleep well provided the spiders and rats of the cabin . . . do not come to visit us. We are lodged five in one cabin, . . . It is not intolerable in the month of February when the nights here are not hot." On February 2: "We raised anchor early so as not to lose time . . . We have eaten and we are going to bed. The vessel has orders to sail on all night, in order to bring us tomorrow to the mouth of the river." Journal of Paul Du Ru, 2-4.
The camp sites mentioned are first, La Pointe à l'Assiette (The Point of the Plate, so named because Iberville lost one there), seventeen leagues from Biloxi; secondly, Pointe au Trépied, twelve leagues beyond; and thirdly, La Rivière au Chien, six leagues from the previous camp. On the fourth day, ten leagues farther, they reached the mouth of the Mississippi. These locations may be the camps made on the first trip, but Iberville does not name them, nor are they found on the maps of the period. More probably, Penicaut became familiar with these landmarks during the succeeding twenty years and is here making use of such later acquired knowledge. In addition, the total of the daily distances enumerated, places the mouth of the river forty-five leagues from Biloxi, whereas, Iberville gives this distance as twenty-eight leagues and on the second trip even lessens

24 Of all these points only one can be located on the early 18th century maps, that is La Pointe à l'Assiette, found on "La Côte de la Louisiane d'après les observations faites par M. de Serigny en 1719 et 1720," ASH, 138 bis - 1-9; reproduced in Thomassy, R., Géologie pratique de la Louisiane, New Orleans and Paris, 1860, Planche II. On the first voyage Iberville states: "J'ay couché sur une isle fort basse couverte d'herbe, et qui noye comme toutes les autres." Log of the Badine, February 27, 1699, Margry, IV, 158. On the 28th he continues: "... je suis venu coucher a un islet a trois lieues au sor­­ouest." On March 1: "J'ay sejourné à cette isle, qui a presque noyes." On the night of March 2, Iberville reached the mouth of the river: "... la nuit venant et le mauvais temps continuant, a ne pouvoir resister sans aller à la coste la nuit ou perir à la mer... En approchant de ces roches pour me mettre à l'abry, je me suis aperçu qu'il y avoit une rivière." Ibid., 159.
this to twenty-six leagues. Because of the inclusion of these relatively unimportant details, it could be expected that Pénicaud would have mentioned the naming of the well-known Chandeleur Islands, called thus, Du Ru points out, after the day on which they were discovered (Candlemas Day). The reason for this omission, of course, is obvious, for he was with Le Sueur's group at the time.

The two accounts agree that of the three channels at the entrance of the Mississippi the one to the right is the deepest, containing about eleven feet of water, and on both trips Iberville entered the river by this channel, since, in his judgment, it was the only suitable pass. Notwithstanding the fame of the great river its approach from the sea was very unimposing, and Du Ru's first impression of its mouth is descriptive and in accord with the consensus of his

25 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 160; Log of the Renommée, ibid., 402. Pénicaud's estimate of the distances travelled each day is, if not impossible, at least very much exaggerated. Iberville estimates that he travelled, in one case, twenty-eight leagues in four days or an average of seven leagues a day. On the other hand, Pénicaud remarks that they made seventeen leagues on the first day. Nowhere in Iberville's account of either his first, second or third voyage is there a record of so many leagues travelled in one day, the average being, five, six, seven, eight, and at the most ten, except when descending the Mississippi River in flood season.

26 Journal of Paul Du Ru, 3.

27 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 402
contemporaries:

We are in sight of the river. It looks dreadful and from the distance no passage can be seen. The Spaniards were correct in calling it the river of the palisades (Rio de la Palizada); the mouth is entirely fenced in with trunks of trees, petrified and hard as rock.\textsuperscript{28}

It is interesting to know that on his first voyage Iberville was able to identify the river from La Salle’s description of the water as it poured into the Gulf, although Pénicaud could not be expected to be informed on this item. The characteristics noticed by the explorer were its whitish and thickish appearance and the fact that it retained its freshness some distance into the sea.\textsuperscript{29}

As our annalist proceeds with the description of the course of the river, his statements become more confused and vague. His identification of Mardi Gras Bayou, for instance, ten leagues from the river’s mouth shows that he confounded Iberville’s first and second trips up the Mississippi, for this stream was so-named on

\textsuperscript{28} Journal of Paul Du Ru, 4. The mouth of the Mississippi River did not impress the Spanish any more favorably than it did Du Ru. The expedition which gave the river its name "could not enter an account of the great quantity of trees and driftwood which choked its mouth. It was called the Rio de la Palizada for this reason ... Little did the explorers realize that they had discovered the river for which they were seeking ... Their failure to recognize it as such, however, is not surprising. ... Thus the Mississippi, or the Palizada, as it was thenceforth to be known to the Spaniards for many years, was passed by as unworthy of examination." Dunn, 62.

\textsuperscript{29} Log of the Fadine, Margry, IV, 160.
the first exploration because it was Iberville's camp site on Shrove Tuesday, March 3, 1699. But from this point the sequence becomes so garbled that it is obvious that the author did not have a distinct conception of what took place, and one is forced to conclude that he jotted down bits of later information picked up here and there, some accurate and some inaccurate, for he himself was absent at the time with Le Sueur's contingent.

The activities of this group were as follows: From January 15, the date on which Le Sueur repaired to Fort Maurepas, to February 8, they were engaged in making preparations for the trip to the copper mine. On the last mentioned date, Le Sueur and his men left the roadstead to go to the Mississippi by way of Lake Pontchartrain and the portage, Bayou St. John, where they arrived on February 13. While transporting their goods to the Mississippi River, Father Du Ru, who was in Iberville's party, passed them on his way to the Bayogoula village where he preceded the explorer by a few days. Because of his heavily loaded pirogue, Le Sueur's ascent was so slow that Iberville, on his return trip from the Taensas, passed this group which had advanced only six leagues above the Huma village.

30 Ibid., 161.
31 Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395: 6, 6v, and 7.
32 Journal of Paul Du Ru, 16.
33 Ibid., 45; Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395: 11v, and 12.
these encounters information was undoubtedly given and received by both parties and perhaps it was in this way that Pénicaud became acquainted with the facts he relates concerning Iberville's second trip up the Mississippi River. It also helps to explain his confusion regarding the sequence in which these events occurred.

His most obvious inaccuracy is the time in which he says Fort Mississippi was built. According to his story, Iberville noted a suitable location, eighteen leagues from the sea, for a fort which the latter determined to construct after he had further explored the course of the river. Actually, however, it was Bienville who chose the site for the proposed fort. As was stated above, the location was made with the aid of the Bayogoula chief and was situated as near the mouth as possible where, the chief assured the French, it was free from inundations the year round. Here, approximately seventeen or eighteen leagues from the Gulf, Iberville met his brother and immediately began the building of Fort Mississippi on the east bank of the river. He was thus engaged from the fourth to the nineteenth.

34 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 400. Du Ru gives the distance as seventeen leagues from the sea, Journal of Paul Du Ru, 6. All other authorities give eighteen leagues, cf., Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 12, n. 82. Iberville gives the latitude of the fort as 29° 45', Margry, IV, 404. It is about forty-five miles from the sea, Jean Delanglez, "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 40. Concerning the suitableness of the location of the fort, Gravier writes: "If the Mississippi is settled they will transfer the fort, or rather they will build it at the Baigoula, forty leagues further up, for the high waters overflow so furiously here that they have been four months, in the water often knee deep outside of their cabins, although the Indians had assured them that this place was never inundated." Shea, 153.
During this time Tonti arrived from the Illinois country, and, although this fact is not mentioned in Pénicaud's chronicle, it is of sufficient interest to be included here. In reality Pénicaud undoubtedly was aware of Tonti's presence on the lower Mississippi during the second voyage, for the latter, undertaking a mission to the Chickasaw country upon Iberville's advice, met Le Sueur and his men at the portage on March 1.

The Bayogoula, the first Indian village from the mouth of the river, Pénicaud places on the western bank about fifty-nine leagues

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35 Henry de Tonti (1650-1704) an Italian, accompanied La Salle from France in 1678. He was a member of La Salle's expedition of 1682 to the mouth of the Mississippi River. He became commandant of "Starved Rock" in Illinois, and in 1685 returned to the lower Mississippi River to meet La Salle. His letter dated April 20, 1685, addressed to La Salle and left with the chief of the Mulagula was given to Iberville's party on his first voyage and banished Iberville's last doubt concerning the identity of the Mississippi River. Tonti was undoubtedly the greatest traveller of his day and covered more territory in North America than any of his contemporaries. He died of yellow fever at Mobile in 1704. Cf., Margry, IV, 124 and 275; "Tonti Letters," Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 217.

36 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 404; Journal of Paul Du Ru, 12. In his letter Tonti says he offered his services to Iberville when he heard that the explorer planned to go to the Hasinai, because he, Tonti, had visited this nation on a former occasion. "Tonti Letters," Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 217.

37 Le Sueur's Letter, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395, 8.
from the Gulf as compared with Iberville's estimate of sixty-four leagues. In his narrative he mentions that the leader remained at this Indian village three days, the duration of the calumet ceremony, which agrees with Iberville's activities on his first voyage, at which time he stayed at the Bayogoula from March 14, 1699 to March 16, and participated in the Indian celebrations. On the second voyage he arrived at the Bayogoula village on February 26, departing on March 1, and did not at this time take part in the customary Indian ceremonies.

Another instance of Penicaut's use of knowledge acquired at a much later date occurs with reference to his identification and naming of Bayou Manchac, the name this stream bears today. On the first voyage, Iberville noted that the Indians called it Ascantia River. After he himself had descended to the roadstead by this route, it was

38 For a description of the calumet cf., Gravier's interesting account, Shea, 128-29-30; also M. St. Cosme's remarks on the same subject, ibid., 71.

39 Iberville to Pontchartrain, June 29, 1699, Margry, IV, 119; log of the Badine, ibid., 166 and 172; Log of the Renommée, ibid., 405-06 and 407. Surgerès estimated the Bayogoula village to be about sixty leagues from the mouth of the river and one-fourth of a league inland, log of the Marin, ibid., 260. In degrees the distance between the mouth of the river and the Bayogoula village, according to Iberville's calculations, equals 2° 32'. Gravier's estimate of the distance from the Bayogoula village to the sea is fifty-eight leagues, Shea, 153, which closely approximates Penicaut's figure.
re-named Iberville River, the legend found on the maps of this period. The author of the "Annals of Louisiana" locates it slightly below the position given by Iberville.

The demarcation of the Bayogoula and Huma hunting grounds by the erection of a red pole (baton rouge) is another occasion where our annalist confounds the first and second trips. This bit of information is retailed in the Log of the Badine where the site is located on the east bank near a small stream about five and one-half leagues from Iberville River. Despite his confused chronology, however, Pénicaut's location of the future site of Baton Rouge agrees with the commander's journal.

40 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 185. Iberville gives its width as eight to ten steps wide. Its length from the Mississippi River to Lake Maurepas is fifty-six miles, William Darby, A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana, The Southern State of Mississippi, and Territory of Alabama, New York, 1817, 69 and 90. Being too shallow to admit the sloops, Iberville entered it in canoes. It was much obstructed by logs and during his descent he was forced to make numerous portages.

41 Cf., Delisle's sketches: "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ 74-244; "Carte des Environs du Mississipi," AN, JJ 75-553; "Carte des environs de Mississipi Donné par M. d'Iberville en 1701, par G. Delisle," SHB, C 4040-4. By 1716 Iberville River acquired the name Manchac for it is so marked on "Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et Pays circonvoisins Dressée sur les Lieux pour estre presenter à sa Majeste tres Chrétienne par S. Le Maire Petre parisien et missionaire apostolique, 1716", BN, Ge DD 7883.

42 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 185, gives six and one-half leagues while Pénicaut gives five leagues.

43 Margry, IV, 169. This site is not marked on the early maps nor can it be found on the tracings of Jean Baptiste Bourguignon D’Anville (1697-1782).
Five leagues above the site of Baton Rouge, there is a tongue of land, seven leagues around, jutting into the river. In an effort to shorten the route, Pénicaut says, Iberville made a portage above it, hence the name, La Pointe Coupée. The explorer does not mention this portage on either his first or second voyages, but what Du Rute seems to substantiate Pénicaut's description:

There is still another little river here. It is a branch of the Mississippi, which makes an island whose circuit is about seven or eight leagues. In order to avoid the long journey around, we cut through the small river and are obliged to carry our canoes over the floating trunks of trees to get them on the other side of the island. This portage is about sixteen leagues from the Bayogoulas and nine from the Oumas. 

The more important portage at the Huma debarkment, however, is described by both Pénicaut and Iberville. The former identifies it as Portage de la Croix, while on Delisle's map of 1702 it is marked "Portage des Oumas." In locating this portage, however, there is an appreciable discrepancy between the statements of the two writers.

44 Journal of Paul Du Ru, 25. Pointe Coupée is not marked on Delisle's sketches, but is found on the following d'Anville tracings: "Carte de la coste de la La. depuis La Baye de St. Louis, ou de St. Bernard, jusqu'à celle de St. Joseph ou la marque exactement," EN, Ge DD 2987-8802; and ("The Mississippi River from the Illinois to the entrance into the Gulf"), Ge DD 2987-8819. Charlevoix locates Pointe Coupée five leagues below the Red River. After a time the Mississippi river cut-off its main channel, and, Charlevoix says, reduced the course by fourteen leagues, French, part iii, 15.

45 ASH, 138bis-3-2.
The log of the Badine places it about three leagues below the Huma village, and six and a half leagues above the site of Baton Rouge. Pénicaud, on the other hand, gives more than twice the distance estimated by Iberville. The reason for this disagreement may be the greater difficulty of traveling over this part of the river, which would naturally account for the longer distance.

There is less difference between the Bayogoula and the Huma villages as given by Pénicaud and Iberville. The former gives about forty leagues, while the latter makes a distinction; twenty-seven leagues by way of the portage, and thirty-five leagues following the river, or about five leagues less than Pénicaud's estimate. Hence the detour referred to here was, in Iberville's judgment, eight leagues in circuit, to which figure Pénicaud adds two leagues in mak-

46 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 173. Pénicaud locates this portage two leagues below the Huma village and eight leagues above Pointe Coupée, or approximately thirteen leagues above Baton Rouge.

47 Pénicaud counts the distance from the site of Baton Rouge to the Huma village as thirty leagues, and the site of Baton Rouge according to his figure is ten leagues above the Bayogoula village, thus making a total of forty leagues from the Bayogoula to the Huma village. Margry, V, 395-96.

48 Log of the Renommée, ibid. 407. The distance between the Bayogoula village and the Huma village, in terms of degrees, is 1° 6' according to Iberville's calculation. Du Ru gives the distance between the Huma and Bayogoulas as twenty-five leagues and places the Huma village two and one-half leagues from the River, Journal of Paul Du Ru, 25-26.
ing his estimate. In the latter's account, the leader and the officers went to the Huma village by way of the portage, ordering the remainder of the party to sail around the detour. It was while obeying this command that the mouth of the Red River was discovered. Since Iberville does not refer to this discovery, but merely accepts its existence as a well known reality, nor to the fact that he had some of his men explore the detour, it is probable that Pénicaud confused this with the activities which occurred on Le Sueur's trip up the Mississippi in which he actually participated, and after a lapse of years confounded these events with Iberville's second voyage.

Le Sueur's account confirms many of the details mentioned by the annalist, especially with reference to the latter's description of an inlet in the river which was blocked by a small island and which furnished the second debarkment to the Huma village. This island was one-fourth of a league long and the recess half a league deep, and here in this shelter the miner met three of his men who had gone to

49 In 1700 the Red River was called either the Sablonnière or the Marne. Iberville refers to it by both names, log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 409, but Le Sueur, on the other hand, calls it the Red River. The latitude, calculated by Le Sueur, was found to be 31° 8', Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395; 11. It is actually 31° 2', "Tonti Letters," Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 225, n. 13. Tonti gives the distance from the Red River to the Huma village as four leagues, ibid., 226. Gravier gives three leagues, Shea, 148; Iberville says it is two leagues below the Huma debarkment, log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 409, and Le Sueur gives three leagues inland, Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395: 10v.
the Huma village to procure wheat. Although Iberville does not describe this second landing, he does specifically mention two approaches to the village, one below the bend and the other above. The village itself, however, he places two and a half leagues inland, although the impression given in Pénicaud’s chronicle is that it is situated at the water’s edge. Du Ru describes the hardships endured on the trail to the village in graphic language:

We leave our baggage at the canoes which will proceed to-day and to-morrow about twelve leagues up stream. We leave for the village; from there we shall go by land to rejoin them. What hills to climb, brooks to cross, and thickets to penetrate! Two singers, one awaiting us on a height, proffer us peace as soon as they see us in the distance. Finally, here is the village. It is two and a half leagues from the river and the heat makes it seem at least three. The next notable land-marks are the frequently discussed triple

50 On March 17, Le Sueur noticed this inlet on the east side of the river which is the debarkment of the Humas who were located three leagues inland. The island which fronts this recess is wooded and is about a fourth-of-a league long. Le Sueur sailed into this inlet which he found to be about half a league deep. Here he met his men who reported to him that they had seen the Huma chief. Le Sueur’s letter, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395: 10v and 11.

51 Log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 177; log of the Marin, ibid., 270; Iberville to Pontchartrain, June 29, 1699, ibid., 121.

52 Journal of Paul Du Ru, 26. Like Iberville, Du Ru makes no mention of the discovery of the mouth of the Red River on this trip.
channels formed by two islands about half a league long. These, Iberville concludes, must be the channels made famous by the "relations" which place them sixty leagues from the sea, while he estimates the same distance to be about 125 leagues and Pénicaud about 114 leagues, or approximately fifteen leagues from the Huma village. Advancing four or five leagues farther, they arrived at the Natchez village located on the east bank about a league inland. In this instance Pénicaud's account practically concurs with Iberville's reckoning which places the Natchez about eighteen and a half leagues above the Huma following the winding river, but only

53 "Les Trois Chenaux" are marked on the following maps: ["The Mississippi River from the Illinois to the Entrance into the Gulf"], BN, Ge DD 2987-8819; "Carte de la coste de la La. depuis La Baye de St. Louis, ou de St. Bernard, Jusqu'à celle de St. Joseph ou l'on marque exactement," BN, Ge DD 2987-8802; "Carte des Environs du Missisippi," AN, JJ 75-553. Le Sueur describes the channels thus: "We passed two islands which should be thirteen leagues from the Huma. That on the west has three leagues around and that on the east one good league. ... The river in the channel of the east and in that of the middle comes from the north up to the height of the island and then turns to the north-east. That of the west comes from the west-north-west and turns as the two others. The three channels are about even in width." Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr.n.a., 21395; 12.

54 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 410. The "relations" referred to here are the narratives discussed in the Introduction; cf. also Journal of Paul Du Ru, 24, note 30 and 26, note 32.
eleven leagues in a straight line. The total of the various distances given up to this point in the "Annals of Louisiana" would place the Natchez about 119 leagues from the Gulf, or about 392 miles, which is a good estimate since present-day Natchez, from the South West Pass, is only ten miles less.

From the Natchez to Taensa villages Pénaicaut describes two spots in the river where the expedition encountered turbulent water; the first, twelve leagues above the Natchez, called Le Petit Gouffre (Little Whirlpool), and the second, Le Grand Gouffre, eight leagues beyond. Iberville does not mention either of these, but on Delisle's 1702 map one is placed almost opposite the Taensa landing, which

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56 On March 10, somewhere between the Huma and Natchez, Du Ru states that they are 200 leagues up the Mississippi, Journal of Paul Du Ru, 33. There is apparently quite a discrepancy between his figure and that given by Iberville.

57 Unless otherwise indicated, the distances along the Mississippi River given in terms of miles are taken from Transportation in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, Transportation Series, No. 2, 1929, Corps of Engineers, United States Army Bureau of Operations, United States Shipping Board.
probably corresponds to **Le Grand Gouffre** in Pénicaut's narrative, for a little above this, he recounts, the party disembarked to go to the Taensa village, located on the west bank about four leagues inland. This actually is not a very accurate description of the location of the Taensa village, since Pénicaut does not mention the important fact that it was situated on the border of a lake, Lake St. Joseph, approximately one league from the river. Tonti and Iberville give the distance across the lake to the village as three leagues.

Although our annalist was remarkably accurate in his estimate of

58 On Deslisle's sketch, "Carte de Mexique de la Floride et des Terres en Amerique avec les Isles Adjacentes," AN, JJ 75-253, only one such "Gouffre" or whirlpool is indicated. This is also true on "Carte des Environs du Mississipi," AN, JJ 75-553. On two of D'Anville's tracings, BN, Ge DD 2987-8734 and BN, Ge DD 2987-8819, however, both Le Petit Gouffre and Le Grand Gouffre are indicated. This seems to show that the second "Gouffre" became generally known later than 1704.

59 Du Ru describes this whirlpool and, in agreement with Pénicaut, places it one league below the Taensas. In high water, he states, this whirlpool is quite perilous. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 40.

60 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 431; "Tonti Letters," *Mid-America*, XXI, 1939, 227. From the Natchez to the Taensas Pénicaut gives the distance as twenty leagues; Iberville estimates eighteen and a half leagues by river and only eleven and one-fourth leagues in a straight line, Margry, IV, 413; Tonti gives twenty-three leagues, "Tonti Letters," loc. cit., 227; and Du Ru, only 16 leagues, although in his first estimate which he corrected later Du Ru said twenty leagues, *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 37 and 44.
the distance from the Gulf to the Natchez village, he is not as exact with reference to the distance from the sea to the Taensas, which he places about 140 leagues, or approximately 462 miles, whereas Lake St. Joseph is exactly 400 miles from the Gulf.

At the Taensas an incident occurred which is related in most of the early accounts, but Pénicaut's is by far the most exaggerated, probably due to the fact that he was not present at its occurrence, although, of course, he relates the event as though he had actually witnessed it. His account is as follows: Shortly after Iberville's arrival at the village a severe thunder storm broke, and lightning struck the temple, burning it to the ground. To appease the angry gods, the Indian mothers, inspired by the medicine man, strangled seventeen infants and threw them into the flames. Iberville, shocked by such a spectacle, persuaded them to cease their bloody sacrifice, otherwise, Pénicaut confidently asserts, more than 200 children would have been wantonly destroyed. The facts of this lurid story are quite at variance with the above.

For one thing Iberville was not present at the time of the fire. He had gone to the village and had returned almost immediately to the bank of the Mississippi three leagues away to await the arrival

61 Jean Delanglez, "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico 1680," Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 64. Iberville calculated the latitude at the debarkment of the Taensa village to be 32° 47', Margry, IV, 413, whereas actually the thirty-second parallel crosses the lake on which the village was located. "Tonti Letters," loc. cit. 227.
of Bienville and a small party. These men had remained at the Natchez village to secure a supply of corn, and reached Iberville's camp at almost the same time as the French arrived with the report containing the details of the Taensa temple incident. Du Ru who heard the account as the Frenchmen relayed it, said that four or five children were thrown into the fire.

Iberville remained at the Taensas from March 14 to March 22, 1700, to make preparations for Bienville's and St. Denis' trek to the Hasinai, although Pénicaud ascribes only three days to his stay among these natives. From the outset the leader himself had planned to make this trip for the purpose of exploring that territory and of allying these western Indians to the French cause, but a bad knee prevented him. On March 22, Bienville and St. Denis set out for their westward journey and on the same day Iberville started his descent to the Gulf.

Although Pénicaud could not have been a member of this return trip, because he was with Le Sueur who was at that time ascending the river, yet he accurately narrates the length of time it took Iberville

62 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 413: Journal of Paul Du Ru, 40-41.
63 Ibid., 41. Cf., Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 15, note 99, for the variations given in these early accounts.
64 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 412-13-14.
65 Ibid., 419
to return amives the correct location of "each night's camp." There is no confusion here with the first voyage because on the former trip Iberville ascended only as high as the Natchez village. Pénicaud's accuracy in regard can be partially explained by the fact, as stated earlier, that the two parties met a little above the Huma village, on the second day of Iberville's descent. On the first day, he reached Natchez landing, remaining but one day at this village. On March 24 he camped at the Huma landing, and, though neither Iberville nor Ru mention the camping site of March 25, Pénicaud states that he made at Portage de la Croix, reaching the Bayogoula village on the fourth day, where Iberville actually arrived on March 26, then to Fort Mississippi, which he reached on March 27, having traveled forty-two leagues in thirty-four hours. 66

Pénicaud does not say that Iberville returned to the already constructed fort, but to the site of a proposed fort, for, as previously stated, according to the sequence in the "Annals of Louisiana" the building of the fort took place after Iberville's exploration of the river. This site, Pénicaud says, Bienville was awaiting his brother with transport boat loaded with those building supplies. This, of course, was an impossibility because as Bienville reached this same

66 Ibid., Cf., Pénicaud's Narrative, i, ibid., V, 398. It is interesting to note here, that on his first voyage, Iberville returned the roadstead by way of the river to which he gave his name; lead him through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.
time was making his overland trip along the Red River, whence he returned on May 18, 1700.

As officers of the new fort, Pénicaut names Bienville and St. Denis and states that the force numbered twenty-four men. Bienville, it is true, took command of Fort Mississippi upon his return from the Red River, for Gravier found him in charge when he arrived at the fort, but in the interval, Iberville appointed Louis Denys de la Ronde as commandant with a force of fifteen men.

When these details were settled and when he had recovered sufficiently from a fever which had incapacitated him since March 29, Iberville left on April 13 to rejoin his vessels. Pénicaut relates that he went from Fort Mississippi to Biloxi where he took stock of the provisions and ammunitions, augmented the garrison with sixty Canadians, and departed for his second return to France in April, 1700, thereby actually shortening the second voyage by a month or more, for Iberville did not sail for France until May 28, 1700.

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67 Journal of Bienville's Voyage, Margry, IV, 432
68 Father Gravier's Voyage, Shea, Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, 152.
69 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 423
70 Ibid., 431. Iberville does not mention that he increased the garrison at Biloxi, but when he sailed from France Pontchartrain had placed at his disposal an indefinite number of Canadians who were to embark with him at Rockfort. Pontchartrain to M. du Guay, August 26, 1699, ibid., 336
Iberville's last instruction before leaving, the author of the "Annals of Louisiana" relates, was a recommendation to Sauvolle to equip Le Sueur with a force of twenty men who were to accompany him to the copper mine in the Sioux country, 900 leagues from the mouth of the Mississippi. The reason for Pénicaut's inclusion in this group has already been explained. His error in sequence has also been pointed out, for this expedition, which he states set out from Biloxi Fort toward the end of April, 1700, actually departed on February 8. Pénicaut's vagueness in regard to the organization of Le Sueur's trip is probably due to his effort to reconcile it with Iberville's expedition to the Mississippi. His confusion is even more apparent when he asserts that Le Sueur's detachment ascended the river from its mouth, stopping at Fort Mississippi on the way, for, as remarked when discussing the geographical features of Lake Pontchartrain, Le Sueur entered the Mississippi River, not by way of its mouth, but by way of the Lake and Bayou St. John, forty leagues from the sea, making the difficult portage described above. By this route he missed the fort which was located only eighteen leagues from the mouth of the river, and which was just begun on February 5 or 6, a few days previous to Le Sueur's departure.

71 Le Sueur's Letter, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395: 7.

72 Pénicaut's narrative, Margry, V, 400.
Penicaut begins his account of Le Sueur's trip with a description of the Mississippi river from the Taensa village, where Iberville's exploration left off, since, as he remarks, it would be a useless repetition to give another account of the course of the river below the Taensas. To ascend from Fort Mississippi to this village, he writes, required twenty-four days, because of the rapid current. Actually, however, it took Le Sueur almost two months to travel from Biloxi to the Natchez village which is twenty leagues below the Taensas. From his entry of March 2, it is clear that Le Sueur found the upstream rowing difficult. He writes:

... At midday we crossed to the east (side of the river) to avoid the strong current, but to no purpose, for it was even stronger, and after rowing for two hours for all we were worth, and having made but a fourth of a league we crossed to the west side. ... 73

And despite the vigorous rowing they traveled but three leagues that day. The average distance covered in one day given by Pénicaut is about five or six leagues.

Ten leagues above the Taensas the first landmark noted by the annalist is the Yazoo River on the east bank. This estimate is rather minimized, in fact almost cut in half, for the United States survey places the mouth of the Yazoo River sixty miles from Lake St. Joseph. Among the tribes dwelling along the banks of the Yazoo, Pénicaut enumerates the Tunica, The Yazoo and the Koroa as the most

73 Le Sueur's Letter, EN, Mss. fr. n.a., 21395: 8v.
important. In one of these villages the French met a missionary, M. Davion, though Pénicaud does not identify him by name.

Sixty leagues above the Yazoo they discovered the Arkansas River where, on the west bank, eight leagues from its mouth, the Arkansas Indians have their village. Tonti's estimate of the distance between the Yazoo and Arkansas Rivers substantiates Pénicaud's figure, which, in terms of his league is a rather accurate estimate, for the actual

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74 Pénicaud does not specify in which of the Indian villages he encountered the missionary, Margry, V, 401.

75 Antoine Davion, a priest of the Foreign Missions, accompanied two other priests to the Mississippi Valley. The other two were François Jolliet de Montigny, the superior, and Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme. This band of missionaries left Quebec on July 16, 1698. During the summer of 1699, the interval between Iberville's first and second voyages, these priests visited the fort at Biloxi. M. de Montigny began a mission among the Taensa. Father Du Ru induced him to transfer his mission to the Natchez when he met the missionary on Iberville's second voyage, March 20, 1700, Journal of Paul Du Ru, 42. MM. de Montigny and Davion both returned to Biloxi to visit Du Ru in May, 1700. Montigny then returned to France by way of New York; M. Davion returned to his mission, and M. de St. Cosme took up the mission at the Natchez. Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 22-25, 34.
distance is 200 miles. 76

The remainder of the trip north is outside the scope of this thesis. The important consideration here is the question of chronology, and when compared with other contemporary accounts, it is obvious that Pénicaud's sequence of events is unreliable, even though much of his other material, such as the identification of places, the estimation of distances, and the names of the participants, is, at times, very accurate.

76 "Tonti Letters," Mid-America, XXI, 1939, 228.
CHAPTER III

IBERVILLE'S THIRD VOYAGE AND THE MOBILE COLONY, 1702-1704

Pénicaud's sojourn at the copper mine in Minnesota lasted from February, 1700, to May, 1701. He returned to the lower Mississippi with Le Sueur and twelve men who were bringing 4,000 pounds of specimen ore for shipment to France.

At Fort Mississippi, Pénicaud narrates, the group rested for a time. Here they met Bienville and St. Denis, the officers of the garrison. To the new arrivals St. Dennis recounted the Red River

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1 Le Sueur's expedition arrived in Minnesota in the autumn of 1700. On Green River they set about constructing a fort which they named Fort l'Huillier, after a former French general, who made the first assay of Le Sueur's mineral at Paris in 1696. Cf., Emile Lauviere, Historie de la Louisiane Francaise, 1673-1939, University, Louisiana, 1940, 95. A severe winter forced all to pass the time within the shelter of the new fort. Not until the early days of April could they begin working the copper mine, but once started they had mined, by the first of May, 300,000 pounds of green earth, or raw material from which Le Sueur selected a sample of the best mineral for shipment to France. Having loaded the specimen in canoes, Le Sueur left a force of twelve men at the fort under the care of M. d'Eraque, and taking the remaining twelve, departed for Biloxi. Their descent was uneventful, camping at the same Indian villages they had passed on their way up. Cf., Pénicaud's narrative, Margry, V, 416-17. A small town in Minnesota near the site of this fort now bears Le Sueur's name.

2 Bienville was the actual commandant of Fort Mississippi. St. Denis assumed this post when Bienville took over the similar position at Fort Maurepas at Biloxi upon Sauvole's death. Lettre Historique touchant le Mississippi Ecrive à Paris le 6 aoust 1702, par M. de Remonville, BN, Mss. fr. 9097; 127. Also MFA, Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, III, 26.
trip made in conjunction with Bienville the preceding May. Pénicaud's sketchy summary of this indicates that either he received only a garbled, second-hand account, or he confused this Red River excursion with reports of St. Denis' subsequent travels. The last explanation seems the more probable, since the details he chronicles do not agree with Bienville's journal.

On Iberville's second voyage, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the explorer dispatched his brother, Bienville, and St. Denis on an overland trip to the Hasinai. Their force consisted of twenty-two Canadians, six Taensa and one Ouachita Indian. As related in the "Annals of Louisiana" the purpose of the expedition was to look for the Spaniards from Mexico who had settled along the Red River. This leaves the impression that the journey was made by water, whereas actually Bienville's trip was mostly over land. Likewise other details included in the narrative must have been acquired later. For example, although Bienville visited the Natchitoches Indians, he does not give their location on the Red River with respect to the Mississippi, but Pénicaud assures the reader that this tribe is

3 "Copie du Journal du Voyage de M. de Bienville des Taensas au village des Yatachis, par terre (22 mars - 18 mai, 1700)," Margry, IV, 432. Pénicaud states that Bienville's contingent numbered twenty-five men, and he does not mention the Indians who accompanied the expedition.

located seventy leagues from the Mississippi. In another instance he affirms the expedition stopped at a Caddo village, 100 leagues beyond the Natchitoches, but Bienville explains he was assured by his Indian guides that it would be impractical to travel so far at that time of the year. Therefore, picking up what information he could about the Spanish settlement located in the vicinity, he began his return trip to Biloxi, on April 23, 1700, arriving at the fort on May 18, just ten days before Iberville's departure.

While at Fort Mississippi, the annalist wrote, he was informed that Iberville had anchored at Biloxi roadstead a month previously on his third voyage to Louisiana, which would place Iberville's arrival about the middle of June, 1701. In this regard, and indeed, in regard to the entire third voyage, Pénicaux has so misrepresented the facts that it is almost impossible to reconcile the events he narrates with the actual circumstances.

With reference to the date of Iberville's arrival and his landing, the writer is very much confused. According to Sauvolle's statement, Le Sueur returned to Biloxi on July 16, 1701. Pénicaux, who most likely accompanied the miner, states that, upon arriving at the Gulf fort, he found the explorer there engaged in the unloading of his vessels. In the summer of 1701, however, Iberville was still in

5 Bienville's Journal, ibid., IV, 437.
6 Sauvolle to Pontchartrain, August 4, 1701, MPA, II, 13 and 16.
France making preparations for this third voyage. Moreover, upon his arrival at the Gulf coast, the colonizer was forced to anchor at Pensacola Bay, because of an abscess in his side which confined him to his bed since leaving Santo Domingo. Iberville reached Pensacola harbor on December 15, 1701, and did not go to Biloxi during the duration of the third voyage. Yet, Pénicaud states, after resting at Biloxi for three days, he departed with the explorer and a crew of thirty men to take soundings around Massacre (Dauphin) Island in an effort to locate an anchorage for the vessels. He further explains that this investigation was being undertaken upon the recommendation to the effect that the island possessed a good harbor. This reference to Sauvolle's active participation in events which occurred upon Iberville's third voyage is another typical example of Pénicaud's confusion with reference to the proper sequence of events. Sauvolle died during the interval between Iberville's second and third voyages, actually on August 22, 1701. Iberville was immediately apprised of

7 Iberville's Journal, December 15, 1701 to April 27, 1702, Margry, IV, 505.
8 Ibid., 503.
9 Iberville had carefully explored Massacre Island on both his first and second voyages and by his third voyage he was quite familiar with the Gulf coast between Pensacola Bay and the Mouth of the Mississippi, as he was well acquainted with the topography of Mobile Bay. Therefore, there was no necessity for such a preliminary exploration as Pénicaud implies.

10 Iberville's Journal, December 15, 1701 to April 27, 1702, Margry, IV, 504.
this fact by a Spanish officer when he anchored in Pensacola Bay the following December. In the "Annals of Louisiana," Sauvolle's death is said to have occurred after Iberville's third departure for France.

From Massacre Island, Iberville's supposed expedition crossed to Mobile Bay. Although Iberville had previously described this bay on both his first and second voyages, this is Pénicaut's first mention of it. For a comparison of the respective descriptions of the bay, it will be necessary to have recourse to Iberville's first journal (e.g., log of the Badine) since he does not repeat such details on his last expedition.

According to Pénicaut, Massacre Island is two leagues from Mobile Bay, while Iberville gives three and a half leagues. Due to the fact that he lived on the bay for a number of years, Pénicaut was able to describe it in much more detail than Iberville, and it is not possible, therefore, to check his description in all its minuteness with the explorer's more general statements.

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11 Pénicaut's Narrative, ibid., V, 423.

12 Log of the Badine, ibid., IV, 146-47. Nicholas La Salle concurs with Pénicaut's statement, Nicholas de la Salle to Pontchartrain, April 1, 1702, ibid., 533.
The width of Mobile Bay, the annalist gives as five leagues.\textsuperscript{13} Traversing the bay, the expedition entered Mobile River. One league from the river's mouth they noticed a tributary on the western bank called Rivière Saint-Martin. This Hamilton identifies as Bayou Marmotte, or with the river later named for Chateauguay -- present-day One and Three Mile Creeks respectively.\textsuperscript{14} A second tributary, one league higher and likewise emptying into Mobile River from the west, the narrator distinguishes as Rivière a Boutin, probably Chickasabogue.\textsuperscript{15}

Advancing twelve leagues up the river, the expedition arrived at a Mobile Indian village. When they were ready to make the return trip the chief of this tribe accompanied Iberville. At an elevation six leagues below the village this Indian pointed out a suitable site for the erection of a fort. In this manner, according to the "Annals of

\textsuperscript{13} Nicholas de La Salle gives its extension north and south as eighteen leagues, \textit{ibid.}, 532. It is actually 30 miles long and ten miles wide, Hamilton, 3. Pénicaud's description of the bay is accepted almost verbatim by Hamilton. Of Pénicaud, this author remarks, 36: "... to him we are indebted for perhaps the first detailed description of the bay and river that has come down to us." Likewise he places implicit confidence in Pénicaud's estimate of distances. In this regard, he states, 36: "Pénicaud's dates may not always be correct. ..., but he is a good measurer. The mainland he says was two leagues from Massacre Island, and then it was nine leagues to the river."

\textsuperscript{14} Hamilton, 36.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, 36.
Louisiana" the location of the future Mobile fort was determined? The actual facts, however, are quite different. Iberville noted the site for the fort when exploring the Bay on his second voyage, and upon his arrival on the third voyage he sent Bienville very definite instructions to erect the fort on the second elevation, sixteen leagues from Massacre Island,\textsuperscript{16} although he himself did not visit the Bay until several months later.

On the return trip the chronicler names the rivers which flow into the Bay from the west. These are Dog River, located about two leagues below Mobile River; Deer River, two leagues below the former, and another, two leagues south, Fowl (Poule) River. The identity of these rivers must have become familiar to Fénicaut at a subsequent date for the early maps do not name them.\textsuperscript{17}

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\textsuperscript{16} The location of the new site of the Fort on Mobile Bay, Iberville gives as 31\textdegree\, 3'. He describes the site as a coastal elevation of about twenty feet or more, Iberville's Journal, December 15, 1701 to April 27, 1702, Margry, IV, 512 and 593. Regarding his instructions to Bienville, he writes: "J'escrivis au sieur de Bienville de faire l'establissement au deuxiesme score, qui a seize lieues de l'isle Massacre." Ibid., 506. According to Hamilton, 52, this location is present-day Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff.

\textsuperscript{17} On Delisle's sketch, "Embouchure de la Mobile," AN, JJ 75-239, Dog River is named, but neither Deer nor Fowl Rivers are shown. A later, but large, detailed map of Mobile Bay can be found in vol. II of four similarly bound volumes bearing on the front cover the legend "A la Substitution du Valdec proche Soleure en Suisse, MDCCXXVII." The name of the map is "Fort Louise, Province de la Louisianne, et l'Isle Dauphine avec son port et rade scituée par les 30\textdegree\, 5'm de latitude nord et par les 284\textdegree\, 20' de Longitude par Teneris."
The narrative, after this supposed expedition's return to Biloxi, becomes even more muddled. The important work of transferring the garrison from Biloxi to the new site on Mobile Bay, the narrator defers until after Iberville's return to France, explaining that the explorer thought it expeditious, due to the intense summer heat and to the prevalence of fever to change the colonial base to Mobile. Orders were issued accordingly, and he departed for France taking La Sueur with him.

Pénicaut attributed the founding of Mobile fort\(^\text{18}\) to Boisbriant, stating that the work was begun in 1701. At the same time, according to Iberville, as does Pénicaut, refers to the new fort by the name of Mobile, Iberville's Journal, December 15, 1701, to April, 27, 1702, Margry, IV, 514, although, as explained in MPA, II, 169, n. 2, "The fort of Mobile was Fort Louis and not Fort St. Louis. It was named in honor of Louis XIV rather than the sainted Louis IX. By an order of the Company of October, 1720, the fort was renamed Fort Conde." De La Harpe, 82, refers to Mobile by its proper name thus, "fort Louis de la Mobile." Before 1720, however, the name of the Fort was changed to Fort Mobile and this change is mentioned by Bienville in his letter of October 27, 1711, MPA, III, 27.

With reference to the Mobile settlement it is interesting to note that this establishment differed in nature from those founded at Biloxi and on the Mississippi. The latter were merely forts, housing a garrison, stationed there to claim the territory in the name of France and to ward off foreign intruders. The term "colony" can for the first time be correctly applied to the Mobile establishment which is considered "the oldest French colonial town on the Gulf Coast, Biloxi thus far having been merely a fort." Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 32. When Iberville returned on this third voyage his intention was to found a permanent colony, and he brought with him four families to form the nucleus of the colony, Hamilton, 57. By 1702 the colony numbered 130 persons, including soldiers, La Salle to Pontchartrain, April 1, 1703, Margry, IV, 536.
to the narrator, Bienville came to Biloxi from Fort Mississippi to take
over the command of the fort there in place of Sauvolle. This, however
Bienville did immediately upon Sauvolle's death some months previous to
Iberville's third arrival, and not, as the sequence in the "Annals of
Louisiana" relates, after his third departure.

Iberville's journal gives a very different account of the founding
of Mobile Fort. As the official correspondence indicates, the purpose
of his third voyage was to supervise the transfer of the basis of
operation from Biloxi to Mobile Bay.¹⁹ Leaving France in the autumn of
1701, Iberville anchored at Pensacola Bay the following December, and
from his sick bed, sent instructions to Bienville who began the transfer
of the garrison early in January, 1702. Iberville himself did not
visit the new fort until March, when the work was well under way. He
sailed for France on April 27, 1702,²⁰ and thus ended his last visit
to the colony which he had established in Louisiana.

For the events which Pénicaud narrates as happening between 1702
and 1704, there is no longer available as complete and accurate a
source of comparison as Iberville's journals. There are, however, other

¹⁹ During the summer of 1701 the French government dickered with the
Spanish Junta for the transfer of Pensacola Bay to France. Fail-
ing in this endeavor, the French determined to establish a fort
at Mobile Bay as a buffer to further English advances and as a
threat to the Spaniards, Margry, IV, 539-82.

²⁰ Iberville's Journal, December 15, 1701, April 27, 1702, ibid., 523.
contemporary documents, far less detailed than Iberville's by means of which some of the annalist's statements can be tested and his chronology checked.

A typical instance of Pénicaud's inaccuracy and perhaps his most glaring mistake is related in the fourth chapter of the "Annals of Louisiana," in which the author states that Iberville made a fictitious fourth voyage to his colony in the spring of 1702.\(^{21}\) Subsequent writers, making an uncritical use of this narrative, have repeated this error.\(^{22}\) As a matter of fact in the early spring of 1702, Iberville was still at Mobile. The duration of his stay in Louisiana on his third voyage extended from December 15, 1701, to April 27, 1702.

On this imaginary fourth voyage, Pénicaud ascribes activities to Iberville which it is necessary to examine and to put in their proper sequence. The first refers to Iberville's order that warehouses be constructed on Massacre Island. Here Pénicaud is undoubtedly confusing this with the initial instruction sent to Bienville in which, on January 3, 1702, the explorer requested the erection of the warehouses on the island.\(^{23}\) In compliance, Bienville arrived at Massacre Island

\(^{21}\) Pénicaud's Narrative, Margry, V, 424.

\(^{22}\) Notably Charlevoix, II, 414, and Hamilton, 56. The latter says Iberville came in the Loire, with ever needed supplies and oversaw for a while the affairs of the colony.

\(^{23}\) Log of the \textit{Kenommée}, Margry, IV, 505.
On January 5 and immediately began the construction of said warehouse, even before beginning work on the new fort. Therefore this, and likewise the building of barracks in which to lodge the soldiers who remained to guard the merchandise, was a part of the activities of the third voyage.

To this same section, Penicaut also attributes the changing of the name of Massacre Island to Dauphin Island, the name it still bears today; likewise the changing of the name of Surgères Island to Ship Island. As he has so often done in the past, the narrator is here again antedating events, for the first reference to the re-naming of Massacre Island occurs in Bienville's letter written to Pontchartrain on October 27, 1711. Furthermore, the legends these islands bear on

24 Ibid., 505-06.
25 Bienville wrote: "... As I have had the honor of informing your Lordship by a brigantine from Martinique, to draw near to Massacre Island, which we now call Dauphine Island and the establishment that is beginning to be made there..." MPA, III, 159.
the maps remained unchanged until after 1711. 26

Continuing with an enumeration of Iberville's deeds on the so-called "fourth voyage," the "Annals of Louisiana" relates that after supervising the building of the warehouse on Dauphine Island, the explorer visited the Alabama, Choctaw, and Chicasaw Indians. The chiefs of these tribes, together with their neighbors, the Mobile and Thome Indians, and also the 'Men of the Fork' repaired to Mobile to smoke the peace pipe with Iberville. In this instance Pénicaud has probably confused this with the peace conference Iberville concluded with the Choctaw and Chicasaw Indians on March 19, 1702. Representa-

26 Tracing the change of the names of these islands on the map of that period, there is, on a map dated 1710, "Cours du Mississipi, depuis les sources de Mississipi aux environs de 48° jusqu'à son embouchure," SHE, C 4040-27, on which Ship Island is still inscribed "Surgères Island" and likewise the name of Massacre Island remains unchanged. A map of Le Maire's, "Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et pais circonvoisins," SHE, C 4044-46A, dated 1716, gives both the latter names for these islands, namely Isle Dauphine and Isle aux Vaisseaux. In the early Delisle sketches, Ship Island is consistently named Isle du Mouillage, and likewise Isle Massacre. Cf. "Carte des environs du Mississipi, Donné par M. d'Iberville," SHE, C 4040-4; "Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres en Amerique avec les Isles adjacentes," AN, JJ 75-253; "Carte des Environs du Mississipi," AN, JJ 75-553; "Embouchure de la Mobile," AN, JJ 75-239 (on this map, however, Ship Island is not shown); and "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ 74-244. The change in nomenclature for both islands appears on these sketches simultaneously. It is first noted on "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ 75-244. However, there is one exception to this statement. On "Embouchure du Mississipi et de la Mobile, Dressé par M. De Remonville, 1713," AN, JJ 75-246, Ship Island still retains the legend I. Surgère, but Dauphine Island is given its present-day name. Remonville probably took his information from an earlier map.
tives from these nations came to Mobile in response to an appeal from Tonti whom the explorer had sent among them for the purpose of securing a favorable alliance with these tribes, the most influential and numerous in the territory. With the conclusion of the peace, Pénicaut says Iberville departed for France in June, 1702; actually, Iberville was in June of that year on the high sea, returning to France at the completion of his third voyage.

As Chapter IV of the "Annals of Louisiana" proceeds, the general impression is that the author is merely jotting down isolated statements, regardless of sequence, rather than relating a consecutive narrative. In addition to the confusion caused by muddled chronology, many of these statements are difficult to check due to the paucity of

27 Log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 514-19
28 Penicaut's narrative, ibid., V, 428.
contemporary material covering the period from 1702 to 1704. For instance, Pénicaud's very tardy reference to the founding of Pensacola

29 This is particularly true with reference to Pénicaud's account of the return of M. D'Eraque and his men from Fort L'Huillier and their encounter with Juchereau. He records that d'Eraque abandoned the fort because of the lack of provisions and the attacks made upon them by unfriendly Indians. While descending, D'Eraque encountered Juchereau at the Wisconsin River with a party of 35 men. The latter was going to the "Quabache" to establish a tannery, Pénicaud explains. Concerning the identity of this Juchereau, the only available reference was a doubtful one at best, Louviere, who identifies him as Charles Juchereau de Saint Denis, lieutenant-general of Montreal, uncle of Iberville's wife. This same source asserts that he established a tannery at the present site of Cairo, Illinois, in 1701 with the aid of Father Mermet, S.J. His force numbered thirty-five men. He died in the autumn of 1703, Louviere continues, and his younger brother was our famous Juchereau St. Denis. Le Harpe, 75 and 76, on the hand reports that Juchereau arrived at the Wabash on October 28, 1703, while D'Eraque and his party returned to Mobile on March 3, 1703. If this is correct, the two parties could not have met at the Wisconsin, as affirmed by Pénicaud. The latter likewise claims that the two parties descended as far as the Illinois. Here d'Eraque found the rescue canoe which Bienville had sent and returned with it to Fort Mississippi where he learned from St. Denis that Iberville had arrived on the "forth voyage." Earlier in his narrative, Margry, V, 421, the author relates that the three persons to whom Le Sueur had given orders to carry provisions and ammunition to M. d'Eraque at Fort L'Huillier, had met with misfortune; their canoe overturned and the provisions were lost. Upon arriving at Fort Mississippi, Le Sueur learned of the disaster and asked Bienville to dispatch another rescue canoe. This was the canoe M. d'Eraque met at the Illinois River, and returned with it to the Gulf.
by the Spaniards and his description of Pensacola Bay illustrates his vagueness concerning many of these early events and further proves the inefficiency of his notes, if the latter actually existed at all, for the Spanish settlement at Pensacola, established three months prior to Iberville’s arrival on his first voyage in 1699, was a well known fact to the French colonists of that early period.

30 Pénicaud locates the Spanish post twelve leagues east of Dauphin Island and thirty leagues east of Mobile Bay. His French text reads: “Dans ces mêmes temps, les Espagnols vinrent bâtir un fort qu’ils nommerent Pensacola, à douze lieues de l’île Dauphine, sur le terrain ferme, à l’est de la Mobile de trente lieues.” Margry, V, 426. Iberville’s estimate was fourteen leagues, log of the Badine, ibid., IV, 97. C.f. Chapter I, note 20. According to Pénicaud’s account, the existing peace between the mother countries was the only reason for permitting the Spaniards to settle on Pensacola, concluding, “mais nous verrons par la suite que ce fort fut le sujet d’une guerre que nous eumes pendant deux ans avec les Espagnols.” Ibid., 427.

31 On January 26, 1699, Iberville discovered the Spanish settlement on Pensacola Bay, log of the Badine, Margry, IV, 142. Pensacola was occupied in an attempt to anticipate the French into the region of the Gulf of Mexico. A royal cedula, issued on April 19, 1698, ordered the immediate establishment of a presidio at Pensacola, Dunn, 173. This order reached Mexico on July 14, 1698, and on October 15, three vessels sailed from Vera Cruz, arriving at the Bay the following November, ibid., 176 and 180, thus arriving at the Gulf coast just two months prior to Iberville’s first voyage. A full year elapsed before the Spaniards at Pensacola learned of the existence of the French fort at Biloxi, ibid., 190-1. After that, however, there was a limited amount of friendly communication between the two colonies. For instance, on April 5, 1700, some Spaniards came to Biloxi to seek aid, and during the course of a severe storm, lost two ships. They were rescued by the French, and were transported to Pensacola by French sailors, Recouart to Pontchartrain, August 23, 1700, Margry, IV, 386. Recouart further asserts that he believed that the Spaniards’ purpose in coming to Biloxi was to determine the nature of the French establishment, ibid., 384. On June 24, 1702, the Spaniards requested succor from the French at Mobile, and Bienville’s letters contain many references to similar friendly commerce and exchange of help. Cf. MPA, III, 230, 47, and 51.
Penicaut's recital of the treachery of the Alabama Indians and the subsequent revenge sought by the French is a more complete and orderly narration than his succeeding sketchy statements. 32 His account of this affair is graphic and many of the details are more particular than any of the other extant reports. Consistent, however, in his characteristic fault, his sequence is awry. The narrator recounts the event as occurring in September, 1702, but Bienville, in his report to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, gives the date as the summer of 1704.

The story as told in the "Annals of Louisiana" relates that five Frenchmen asked Bienville's permission to go to the Alabamas to secure poultry and other commodities gravely needed at Mobile. They departed with ten Alabama Indians who were at the fort and who wished to return.

32 Before taking up the subject of the war against the Alabama, Penicaut prefaces his narrative with a statement concerning the arrival of Tonti at Mobile with a band of Canadians. At this date, however, Tonti was at Mobile. As already noted, the traveler descended the Mississippi early in 1700, joining forces with Iberville on February 16, log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 404. He returned to the Illinois country on March 24, 1700, but Sauvole reports his reappearance at Biloxi in his letter to Pontchartrain, August 4, 1701, MPA, II, 16. Tonti remained at the fort and participated in the activities which occurred during the third voyage, log of the Renommée, Margry, IV, 514-19.

33 Chronology of Jean Baptiste de Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, MPA, III, 11; also Bienville's letters, ibid., 9, 20, 21 and 22.
to their village. Ten leagues from their destination, the Indian guides requested the French to remain where they were in order that they might go ahead and prepare a suitable welcome for their guests. During the night the treacherous guides returned and unexpectedly attack the French, killing four of them. The fifth barely escaped, being wounded by a hatchet hurled at him as he plunged into a near by stream. Despite the injury, however, he managed to reach Mobile.

To avenge this deed, Pénicaud's story proceeds, Bienville called together the neighboring nations, in all 1,800 men carrying arms. This figure appears greatly exaggerated when compared with Bienville's statement that his force numbered 280 of whom sixty were Frenchmen.

34 The killing of the Frenchmen by the Alabama Indians took place probably during the year 1703, since the Minister refers to the affair in his letter of January 30, 1704, and in his letter of September, 1704, Bienville does not relate the circumstances that caused the difficulty with the Alabama Indians, the supposition being that he had reported the affair previously. Le Harpe gives the date as 1703, May 1, and attributes the animosity to the activities of the English, whom, the latter claims, excited these Indians to plot against the French. Thus encouraged, the Indians enticed the French to their village, declaring that the English had retired and offering them an opportunity to trade with them. Lacking a sufficient supply of wheat at Mobile, a commission of five Frenchmen was sent to the Alabamas to buy Indian corn, La Harpe, 76-79.

35 La Harpe, 79, identifies the Canadian who escaped as Charles, and his account substantiates Pénicaud's in all the important details.

36. Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, MPA, III, 19-20. In his history, La Harpe does not recount the attempt made by the French to take revenge against the Alabama with the Indian force, 79-82, relating only one such effort, giving the date as January, 1704, 82.
The account of the attack as related by Bienville and Pénicaud substantially agree, both emphasizing the desertion and deceit of the Indians. According to the annalist, they covered only thirty leagues in eighteen days, and at the end of that period such a small majority of the Indians remained at their post, the French were forced to retract their steps. Bienville determined to make the assault by water, but without their deceitful allies, whom he felt certain, had already forewarned the enemy.

The second attacking force consisted of six or seven large pirogues and forty-eight men. Since the two accounts, Bienville's and Pénicaud's, agree on the important details, it is sufficient to state here that the result was not as devastating as the French had hoped, but it sufficed

37 This figure is exaggerated, for Bienville states that the French returned on the fifth day's march, MPA, III, 21.

38 Bienville complains bitterly about the duplicity of the Indians, claiming that they travelled in four days, a distance which could easily have been travelled in one. The desertion and sickness added to this delay forced the French to return to their fort to make plans for another attempt. Ibid., 20 and 21.

39 Pénicaud says the force consisted of ten canoes and fifty Frenchmen. This party, he writes, came upon fourteen canoes belonging to the Alabamas about ten leagues from their village. The French attacked this detachment by night, under serious difficulties, resulting in the killing of one Frenchman and two Alabamas. Bienville, however, says two Frenchmen were killed. The chronicler also states that their canoes were confiscated and taken back to the fort, but Bienville writes that they were broken up and their booty thrown into the water. Ibid., 21 and 22.
to frighten the Alabama to the extent of insuring peace. 40

To Bienville, therefore, the subject of the Alabama war was closed and he makes no further mention of the affair in his reports to the Minister. This, however, is not the case with Pénicaut who relates that in December, 1702, Boisbriant asked for a troop of thirty men to march against that nation. As narrated in the "Annals of Louisiana" this attack was more vigorous than the preceding one. Coming upon an Alabama camp Boisbriant attacked and killed all the male Indians, taking the women and children as slaves. When he returned to the fort with this booty, Bienville generously turned the slaves over to the Mobile Indians thereby securing their lasting friendship. Since this incident is not contained in any contemporary account, at least up to 1704, it is impossible to check its authenticity. A probable explanation is that this skirmish and also the one led by Chautauguay, which the

40 Bienville concludes that although the attack was not very successful, it spread great terror among the Indians, writing: "I am no longer thinking of marching against these enemies since I see that I am too feeble (i.e., he lacks sufficient troops). They were so terrified to see the Frenchmen come to their villages that they have not gone out since. They will not attack our Indians as they did formerly." Ibid., 22.
annalist describes in Chap. V of his narrative, occurred later than 1704. 41

The next incident of importance was the report of the assassination of M. de St. Cosme. This tragic event, the chronicler narrates, took place early in 1703, when the missionary, accompanied by four Frenchmen, was returning from Canada to his mission among the Natchez. While camped on the banks of the Mississippi to pass the night, a party of twenty-five Chitimacha Indians attacked and killed the French. Only M. de St. Cosme's little cabin-boy escaped. He carried the tragic news to t. Denis at Fort Mississippi.

This story as related by Pénicaud is substantially accurate, but furnishes another typical example of his confused chronology. The missionary's death occurred toward the end of the year 1706 and

41 Kastner, II, 11, repeats the story of Boisbriant's attack upon the Alabama almost verbatim from Pénicaud's narrative, except that he places the event in December of 1703. With reference to Chateauguay's attack upon these Indians, there is no evidence in any of the contemporary accounts to substantiate Pénicaud's relation. This affair undoubtedly occurred much later, for Chateauguay only returned to the Mobile colony in August 1703, on the Loire, Hamilton, 65 Kastner, II, 12, relates this event, saying that Chateauguay killed fifteen Alabama Indians when descending to Mobile Fort with his plotters and places the event in 1704.

42 Jean Francois Buisson dSt. Cosme, a Seminary priest, was one of three missionaries sent from Quebec in 1698 to the Mississippi valley, establishing his mission, first, at the Tamaiocis, near modern St. Louis, and later among the Natchez. He visited Biloxi Fort in 1701. Delangle, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 63, note 88.
M. Bergier was the first to bring the news to Mobile, January 1, 1707. It is possible that the annalist confused this assassination with the murder of another Seminary priest, M. Foucault, which occurred in July, 1702.

The subterfuge of the Choctaw concerning the little Frenchman, St. Michel, is the next event to which Pénicaud gives considerable importance. This fourteen-year old boy had been sent to the Chickasaw to learn their language. Now these two tribes, the

43 Ibid., 63, n. 86, Cf. MPA, III, 38. Both these sources say that only three Frenchmen accompanied M. de St. Cosme.

44 MPA, III, 34. Pénicaud gives the date of Foucault's death as 1705, Margry, V, 457. Since the sequence is so awry, Pénicaud's description of St. Denis' attack upon the Chitimacha Indians to revenge the murder of M. de St. Cosme, will not be included here.

45 This was a powerful nation and Iberville desired their alliance with the French in order to defeat the Chickasaw who were allies of the English, Memoir sur le Mississipi, July 20, 1701, Margry, IV, 484. La Harpe, 36, says the Choctaw consisted of forty villages and over 5000 warriors, while Iberville gives their number as 3,800 to 4,000 families, Iberville's memoir, Margry, IV, 593. He describes them as well formed men and good warriors much like the Iroquois, log of the Renommée, ibid., 519, and locates them between the Mississippi and Mobile Rivers at 33° 45', ibid., 593. Pénicaud says that among the Choctaw were 12,000 men carrying arms, Pénicaud's narrative, ibid., V, 437. They were the most numerous tribe in the country and occupied the territory south of the Chickasaw, between the Tombigbee and Mississippi Rivers.

46 The Chickasaw, Iberville estimated, numbered about 2,000 men, 700 or 800 of whom were armed, Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 519. They passed as the bravest of the southern Indians. Their territory was bounded by the Ohio on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and the Tombigbee on the east. The country of the Choctaw lay to the south, Heinrich, xxxiii. Iberville placed them forty-five leagues north of the Choctaw at 30° 20', Iberville's memoir, Margry IV, 594.
Choctaw and Chickasaw, were at loggerheads, and the Chickasaw, desiring to rectify matters, sent an envoy to Bienville to seek his mediation in securing a peace. Thereupon Boisbriant with twenty-five men was sent to the Choctaw to secure a peace between the two nations. When the French arrived, the Choctaw feigned surprise that the former would consort with Indians, who, they declared, had killed the little French boy. The Chickasaw immediately denied the allegation and promised to produce the boy within a month's time as proof of their innocence.

The month of grace passed, and the Chickasaw did not return. Thereupon, Boisbriant, realizing the necessity for diplomacy and perceiving the plot concocted by the Choctaw, assured their chief that he believed his story and induced him to conclude a pact of friendship with the French. This accomplished, Boisbriant returned to Mobile satisfied that he had secured for the French the allegiance of a most formidable Indian nation.

Toward the end of 1703, continues the chronicler, the affair was brought to even a happier conclusion when the Chickasaw returned the little St. Michel to Mobile fort. The French seized this opportunity to draw up a peace with them, and thus, because of the skill and tact of Boisbriant, brought about friendly relations with the two most powerful nations in the locality. 47

47 Penicaut's narrative, Margry, V, 439.
La Harpe relates this affair and his account verifies, at least in all essentials, Pénicaout's statements, with the typical exception of chronology. The former gives the date of this incident as February, 1705, and not as our narrator states, 1703. 48

The "Annals of Louisiana" next relates the death of Juchereau and discusses the events resulting therefrom. In this instance, the first from among the disconnected series of events enumerated in this section of Pénicaout's narrative, the sequence is correct, for in his letter of September 6, 1704, Bienville reports the incident to Pontchartrain, stating that Juchereau died in the autumn of 1703. 50

Upon receiving the information of Juchereau's death, the annalist continues, Bienville sent a party of six men with instructions to order the twenty-five men stationed at the tannery to repair to Mobile Fort with their peltries. On their way, this group stopped at the Yazoo

48 La Harpe, 89-91. Kastner, II, 15, also gives the year as 1705.

49 On Juchereau, cf. note 29, above. In 1701 Juchereau was given permission to establish a tannery on the Mississippi, Iberville to Pontchartrain, July 2, 1701, Margry, IV, 478. The enterprise was abandoned at Juchereau's death, which, as Bienville states, occurred in the autumn of 1703, MPA, III, 23

50 Ibid., 23-4. Bienville states that these men had about eight to nine hundred buffalo hides which were taken to Fort Mississippi.
village where they found the missionary, M. Davion.

This reference to M. Davion serves as another illustration of Pénicaud's confusion, further illustrating the necessity of verifying every assertion he makes. In this case, for example, his sequence is accurate with reference to Juchereau's death and the details of his recital agree with Bienville's account, but his statement concerning Mr. Davion is not true. In 1703, Davion was at Mobile Fort awaiting

51 Swanton points out that Pénicaud appears to place Davion among the Yazoo instead of the Tunica, due to the fact that the Tunica were living near the Yazoo river until 1705 when they emigrated to the mouth of the Red River settling among the Huma, J. R. Swanton, Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico, Washington, D. C., 1922, 310-11. Furthermore, this is Pénicaud's first mention of M. Davion by name (see note #65, Chapter II), although by 1703 he was a familiar figure to the French colonists on the Gulf Coast. One of the first seminary priests to come to the Mississippi valley, he visited Biloxi in July, 1699; and again in 1700 where Du Ru met him on May 8, Journal of Paul Du Ru, 71; and where Gravier saw him on November 13 of that same year, Shea, 133. In 1702, he came down the Mississippi again in the company of the Jesuit, Father de Limoges, to inform Bienville of the death of M. Foucault, arriving at Mobile on October 1, 1702, La Harpe, 73.

52 The only discrepancy being the number of peltries. Bienville gives eight or nine hundred while Penicaut says 12,000. These were stored at Fort Mississippi for shipment to France, but because of a lack of boats, the hides remained there for some time and in the course of the years became moth eaten, inundated by the floods and stolen by the Indians. The whole lot was lost, Mandeville's memoir of 1709, MPA, II, 52.
word from France regarding the disposition of the missions along the lower Mississippi, 53 and he did not return to his Tunica mission until December, 1704. 54

The sequence in the "Annals of Louisiana" again becomes very much involved when Penicaut ascribes to the year 1704, the economic expedient of quartering part of the Mobile garrison among the neighboring Indian villages in times of famine. As far as can be ascertained, the first time this policy was resorted to was in 1710; at least this is the first reference to such a practice found in Bienville's letters.

53 For an account concerning the dispute over the jurisdiction of the missions in the Louisiana territory between the Jesuits and the Seminary priests, cf, Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana 35.

54 Davion remained at Mobile, for on February 14, 1703, he wrote: "We have been in Mobile for almost a year, four (priests) in all, and we are cooperating as if we were all members of one community." Ibid., 35. He did not return to the Tunica mission until 1704, Ibid., 48.

55 Bienville to Pontchartrain, June 21, 1710, MPA, III, 151. In his letter Bienville writes: "We had some (corn) until the month of March after which, seeing myself obliged to buy some from the individuals of this place, who had very little since they had assisted the Spaniards with one hundred and eighty barrels this last autumn, I decided to send for the chiefs of several nations and I distributed soldiers to each of their villages for them to feed. I reserved only thirty soldiers to guard this fort." D'Artagouette, in his letter to the minister of June, 1710, also recounts the plight of the colony and the expedient to which Bienville resorted. He confirms the latter's statement, asserting that thirty-five of the sixty-five soldiers at Mobile fort were thus distributed, Ibid., II, 55.
It seems reasonable to suppose that if Bienville found it necessary to resort to such a device to support his colony during the winter of 1703-1704, he would have mentioned the fact in his letter of September 6, 1704, in order to impress upon the minister the urgency of his demands for provisions. Previous to 1710, however, Bienville's letters indicate that he was able to relieve the stress of his colony by sending to Vera Cruz or Havana for supplies, or by borrowing from the Spaniards at Pensacola. 56

Despite this serious discrepancy in sequence, however, Pénicaud's relation of this distribution of the garrison among the Indians involves some interesting observations. Noticing a shortage in the provisions, he elucidates, Bienville sent a ship to Havana to buy supplies, but in order to maintain his men while the relief ship was en route, permission was granted to fifty volunteers to parcel themselves out among the Indian villages or to live by the hunt. Pénicaud was among a group of twenty of the younger men who coasted along the Gulf with the intention of ascending the Mississippi to visit the tribes situated along its banks. This route was familiar territory to the annalist who boasts that he had already ascended the Mississippi on

56 Cf. Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 14, 1706, ibid, III, 31; ibid., February 20, 1707, 35; ibid., June 30, 1707, 47.
three previous occasions, and in his enumeration of these, repeats the errors of omission and confusion apparent when first recounting these events. But he is at least consistent with himself.

This group ascended the Mississippi as high as the Natchez village, where Pénicaud and his companions lived for several months. In "The Annals of Louisiana," the author describes in some detail, the customs, government, marriage and funeral rites of these Indians, and has left a first-hand account of Natchez culture, upon which writers have put a great deal of reliance.

Returning to Mobile at the completion of this sojourn among the Natchez, 1704, Pénicaud found the supply ship, the Pelican recently arrived from France. It was commanded by M. Ducoudray and brought to the colony under the guardianship of M. Huet, so Pénicaud writes, a contingent of twenty-six marriageable girls. Here again the narrator's chronology is accurate, for the Pelican anchored off Mobile in July.

57 Pénicaud's enumeration includes the first trip made by Bienville by way of Lake Pontchartrain, the second time with Iberville on his second voyage and the third time with M. Le Sueur, Margry, V, 422.

58 This refers to his omission of Iberville's exploration of the Mississippi on his first voyage in 1699.

59 His confusion of Iberville's second exploration of the Mississippi and Le Sueur's trip to Minnesota in 1700, two separate, but simultaneous journeys, Pénicaud claiming to have taken part in both.

60 Notably, Swanton in his Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley, 210.
1704, and his reference to the arrival of the girls is consistent with contemporary accounts in which the number of girls varies from twenty-one to thirty.62

The last notation in Penicaut's narrative for the year 1704 concerns the return of Father Donge63 and Father de Limoges64 to France.

61 Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 52. This date is also given in La Harpe, 84.

62 In his appendix, Hamilton, 527, lists a total of thirty girls, but in a footnote states that on September 6, Bienville reported that Ducoudray had delivered to him twenty-seven women. On the other hand, Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 53, n.37, gives the total as twenty-one girls in all; while La Harpe, 84-85, says the Pelican brought twenty-three girls under the guardianship of two Grey Sisters. However, Delanglez, op. cit., 53, states that no Grey Sisters accompanied these girls.

63 Father Donge, S.J. came to Louisiana in December, 1701 on Iberville's third voyage. He took Father Du Ru's place as Chaplain at Mobile, and remained at this post until his superiors recalled him to Santo Domingo. He embarked on the Pelican in September, 1704, and while on board, contracted yellow fever, dying at sea in November. Delanglez, op. cit., 36-37.

64 Father Joseph de Limoges, S.J., was the second Jesuit missionary to come to Louisiana. He left France for Canada in 1698, and his first mission was among the Cahokia where he certainly remained until June, 1700, for Le Sueur sought assistance from him there at that time. He probably left Cahokia for Louisiana in July or August, 1700, for he arrived at Biloxi Fort in December, 1700. He established a mission among the Huma where M. Davion met him in the summer of 1702. He accompanied the latter to Mobile where he remained until 1703. Delanglez, op. cit., 26ff.
on the Pelican in September. While there is no doubt concerning Father Donge's departure on the Pelican, it is probable that Father de Limoges left Mobile a year earlier on the Loire, for he died on January 30, 1704, in Vannes, Brittany, shortly after his arrival in France. He was, therefore, dead many months before the Pelican made its return trip to France.  

65 Ibid., 36.
CONCLUSION

Charlevoix was the first to make use of Pénicaut's narrative. This author uncritically accepted the annalist's misstatements and errors. This is true, in particular, with regard to the incorrect date for Le Sueur's voyage to the Sioux country and in regard to the fictitious fourth voyage ascribed to Iberville in the "Annals of Louisiana."

Until the publication by Margry of Pénicaut's relation, the writers who followed Charlevoix did not have access to this narrative. As Heimlich points out, the authors succeeding Charlevoix, made use without acknowledgment, of the latter's history. Such are François-Xavier Martin, John W. Monette, Charles Gayarré, and Albert James Pickett. Since these historians did not have recourse to reliable documentary sources, many details contained in their works relating to this early period are inaccurate, but they do not, strangely enough, repeat Pénicaut's predominant errors as they are contained in Charlevoix's work.

After the publication of this narrative by Margry in 1887, a rather extensive use of this work might be expected since it is a continuous history of Louisiana for the first twenty years. This, however, is not the case. For reasons into which we need not enter here, subsequent writers were satisfied with merely copying the works
of their predecessors without giving the sources for their statements. Some of these authors are Henry E. Chambers, John R. Spears and A. H. Clark, J. F. H. Claiborne, Grace King, and Alcée Fortier. Their slavish reliance upon former writers make their works practically valueless.

An examination of the historical literature for the beginnings of Louisiana shows that only two authors made an extensive use of Pénaicaut's narrative. Hamilton found Pénaicaut a valuable guide for his Colonial Mobile, because the annalist lived in Mobile for many years and knew its environs very well. Hamilton, however, repeats Pénaicaut's most glaring mistake and ascribes a fourth voyage to Iberville. Heinrich, on the other hand, making full use of all the documentary material at his disposal, was more discerning, and is critical in his acceptance of Pénaicaut's statements, especially with reference to this latter point.

The comparison of Pénaicaut's text with contemporary evidence makes one wonder what led Margry to publish this defective relation rather than more accurate, more authoritative materials which he had at his disposal.
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a) Published Maps

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Carte du Mexique et de la Floride des Terres Angloises et des Isles Antilles du Course et des Environs de la Rivière du Mississipi Dressé sur un grand nombre de mémoires principalement sur ceux de Mrs d'Iberville et le Sueur. Par Guillaume Delisle, 1703.

b) Manuscript Maps

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"Embouchure de la Mobile."

"Rivière de la Mobile"

"Partie du Mississipi et rivières adjacentes"

"Embouchure du Mississipi."
(Important, since it was made before the third voyage of Iberville.)

"Embouchure du Mississipi et de la Mobile."

"Embouchure du Mississipi et de la Mobile dressée par Mr. de Remonville, 1713."

"Croquis du Mississipi et des rivières qui s'y jettent avec les noms des nations voisines tant du Mississipi que de ces rivières pour servir d'intelligence aux relations cy jointes du 28 Février 1700 et 4 mars suivant par M. de Tonty."

"Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres Angloises en Amérique avec les Isles adjacentes."
(Draft of 1703 map which was sent to engraver. Same as SHB, C 4040-4 ("Carte des Environs du Mississipi, Guillaume Delisle"); ASH, 140-4; and SHB, B 4049-42.)

"Course du Mississipi, par M. Du Mont De Montigny."

II. Karpinski Collection

Ministere des Colonies

"Plan du Fort de Maurepas à la Coste meridional de la Floride."

Archives du Servie Hydrographique (ASH)

"Carte du Mississipy à la Coste de la Floride avec ses environs."
(De Fer, 1702)
(The Mississippi and Mobile Rivers)  
(This map represents the coast from Pensacola Bay to Lake St. Bernard (Matagorda Bay). It shows the Mississippi from the Missouri to the Gulf, also the Indian tribes along the river and its affluents. It is dated 1700 from the legend "near the Yazoo River saying that Iberville came there in that year.)

"Carte de la coste et des environs du Vieux Biloxy pour faire voir la Situation de l'Establishment qu'on devoit y faire"

"Carte du fleuve de Mississipy." (After 1701)

"Carte de la riviere de Mississipy sur les memoires de M. le Sueur par Guillaume Delisle, 1702."

Bibliothèque Nationale (BN)

"Carte de la coste de la Louisiane depuis La Baye de St. Louis, ou de Saint Bernard, jusqu'à celle de St. Joseph ou l'on a marque exactement tous les bancs et battures, et la quantité de pieds que l'on y trouve, levée aux Annees 1719 et 1720 par Devin."

"Carte de L'Isle Dauphine à l'embouchure de la Mobile avec la grande terre de l'O. et celle de la Mobile de l'E. allant une liue et demie N. dans la rivière Sûtie par 30 deg. 10m. de latitude N. et de 285 deg. 40m. de longitude par le S" Du Sault Lieut' Command la Vaisseau du Roy le Paon en 1717."

"Carte de la Coste du Nouveau Biloxi avec les Isles des Environs pour faire voir la
situación de la Rade de l'Isle aux Vaisseau, et celle de l'Isle de la Chandeleur."

"Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et Pays Circonvoisins, Dressée sur les Lieux pour estre presentée à sa Majeste très Chrétienne Par S. Le Maire Pretre parisien et missionaire apostolique, 1716."

Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (SHB)

(North America, from Hudson Bay to Mexico) B 4049-32
(This map was drawn from information available about 1700. The fort at Mobile is not shown, but 'Fort des Bilocch' is marked.)

"Partie de l'Amerique Septentrionale depuis 27 jusques à 44 degréz de lau. et depuis 269 degréz de longitude. 1682." B 4040-4
(This map shows the general conception of the contours of the Gulf of Mexico previous to Iberville's exploration.)

"Carte de la Coste et des environs du Fleuve de Mississipi, 1699." C 4040-2
(The information on the manuscript map is of 1699, but De Fer made a draft which he only engraved and published in his l'Atlas Curieux in 1702, and which he dates 1701.)

"Carte des environs de Mississipi par G. de l'isle, Donné par M. Iberville en 1701" C 4040-4
(Engraved but not published. The basic sketch is AN, JJ 75-253.)

"Les Costes aux Environs de la Rivière de Misisipi Découverte par M. de la Salle en 1683 et reconnues par M. le chevalier d'Iberville en 1698 et 1699,
par M. de Fer, 1701."

(This map is inaccurate and unreliable, and the nomenclature is all confused. It is the same as BN, Ge DD 2632 which is a tracing by Gentil. It is also the same as ASH, 138bis-1-3; SHE, C 4040-2, above; and SHE, C 4044-45.)

(Cours du Mississipi, depuis les "sources du Mississipi aux environs de 48 deg. de latitude sept et de 275 de longitude" jusqu'à son embouchure.) (1710)
APPENDIX

CHART SHOWING THE RESPECTIVE DISTANCES ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER GIVEN BY PÉNICAUT AND IBERVILLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Leagues from Mouth of Mississippi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Penicaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth (3 passes)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardy Gras</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Mississippi</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Turn</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayagoula Village</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iberville River (Present-day Manchac)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baton Rouge</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Pointe Coupée</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portage de la Croix</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(circuit of 10 leagues)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huma Village</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*99 (following river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99 (31° 46' north)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99 (31° 8' - Le Sueur)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Although Iberville generally gives two figures: one showing the distance by river and the second giving the distance in a straight line; the distance by river is used here, for that is the way Pénicaut gave his measurements.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Leagues from Mouth of Mississippi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Penicaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red River</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three channels formed by 2 islands</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natchez Village</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taensa Village</td>
<td>140</td>
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</tbody>
</table>